

The purpose of Hitler's attack was to frighten, frighten the American people off the high seas -- to force us to make a trembling retreat. This is not the first time that he has misjudged the American spirit. And today that spirit is now aroused.

If our national policy were to be dominated by the fear of shooting, then all of our ships and those of our sister Republics would have to be tied up in home harbors. Our Navy would have to remain respectfully -- abjectly -- behind any line which Hitler might decree on any ocean as his own dictated version of his own war zone.

Naturally we reject that absurd and insulting suggestion. We reject it because of our own self-interest, because of our own self-respect (and) because, most of all, of our own good faith. Freedom of the seas is now, as it has always been, (the) a fundamental policy of (this) your Government and mine.

Hitler has often protested that his plans for conquest do not extend across the Atlantic Ocean. But his submarines and raiders prove otherwise. And so does the entire design of his new world order.

For example, I have in my possession a secret map made in Germany by Hitler's government -- by the planners of the new world order. It is a map of South America and a part of Central America, as Hitler proposes to reorganize it. Today in this area there are fourteen separate countries. But the geographical experts of Berlin (however) have ruthlessly obliterated all existing boundary lines; (and) they have divided South America into five vassal states, bringing the whole continent under their domination. And they have also so arranged it that the territory of one of these new puppet states includes the Republic of Panama and our great life line -- the Panama Canal.

That is his plan. It will never go into effect. (Applause)

And that (This) map, my friends, makes clear the Nazi design not only against South America but against the United States (itself) as well.

And your Government has in its possession another document, a document made in Germany by Hitler's government. It is a detailed plan, which, for obvious reasons, the Nazis did not wish and do not wish to publicize just yet, but which they are ready to impose -- a little later -- on a dominated world -- if Hitler wins. It is a plan to abolish all existing religions -- (Protestant) Catholic, (Catholic) Protestant, Mohammedan, Hindu, Buddhist and Jewish alike. The property of all churches will be seized by the Reich and its puppets. The cross and all other symbols of religion are to be forbidden. The clergy are to be (for)ever liquidated, silenced under penalty of the concentration camps, where even now so many fearless men are being tortured because they have placed God above Hitler.

In the place of the churches of our civilization, there is to be set up an International Nazi Church -- a church which will be served by orators sent out by the Nazi Government. And in the place of the Bible, the words of Mein Kampf will be imposed and enforced as Holy Writ. And in the place of the cross of Christ will be put two symbols -- the swastika and the naked sword.

The god -- a god of Blood and Iron will take the place of the God of Love and Mercy. Let us well ponder that statement which I have made tonight.

These grim truths which I have told you of the present and future plans of Hitlerism will of course be hotly denied tonight and tomorrow in the controlled press and radio of the Axis Powers. And some Americans -- some Americans -- not many -- will continue to insist that Hitler's plans

need not worry us -- (and) that we should not concern ourselves with anything that goes on beyond rifle shot of our own shores.

The protestations of these few American citizens (--- few in number ---) will, as usual, be paraded with applause through the Axis press and radio during the next few days, in an effort to convince the world that the majority of Americans are opposed to their duly chosen Government, and in reality are only waiting to jump on Hitler's band wagon when it comes this way.

The motive of such Americans is not the point at issue. The fact is that Nazi propaganda continues in desperation to seize upon such isolated statements as proof of American disunity.

The Nazis have made up their own list of modern American heroes. It is, fortunately, a short list. And I am glad that (it) that list does not contain my name.

And so all of us Americans, of all opinions, in the last analysis are faced with the choice between the kind of world we want to live in and the kind of world which Hitler and his hordes would impose upon us.

None of us wants to burrow under the ground and live in total darkness like a comfortable mole.

The forward march of Hitler(ism) and of Hitlerism can be stopped -- and it will be stopped.

Very simply and very bluntly -- we are pledged to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism.

And when we have helped to end the curse of Hitlerism we shall help to establish a new peace which will give to decent people everywhere a better chance to live and prosper in security and in freedom and in faith.

(Each) Every day that passes we are producing and providing more and more arms for the men who are fighting on actual battlefronts. That is our primary task.



And it is the nation's will that these vital arms and supplies of all kinds shall neither be locked up in American harbors nor sent to the bottom of the sea. It is the nation's will that America shall deliver the goods. In open defiance of that will, our ships have been sunk and our sailors have been killed.

And I say that we do not propose to take this lying down. (Applause)

(Our) That determination of ours not to take it lying down has been expressed in the orders to the American Navy to shoot on sight. And those orders stand. (Applause)

Furthermore, the House of Representatives has already voted to amend a part of the Neutrality Act of 1937, today out-moded by force of violent circumstances. And the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has also recommended the elimination of other hamstringing provisions in that Act. That is the course of honesty and of realism.

Our American merchant ships must be armed to defend themselves against the rattlesnakes of the sea.

Our American Merchant ships must be free to carry our American goods into the harbors of our friends.

And our American merchant ships must be protected by our American Navy.

In the light of a good many years of personal experience, I think that it can be said that it can never be doubted that the goods will be delivered by this nation, whose Navy believes in the tradition of "Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead!" (Applause)

Yes, our nation(al) will and must speak from every assembly line. Yes, from every coal mine -- (Loud applause) -- the all-inclusive whole of (in) our vast industrial machine. Our factories and our shipyards are constantly expanding. Our output must be multiplied.



That output (It) cannot be hampered by the selfish obstruction of (a) any small (but dangerous) minority -- a small but dangerous minority of industrial managers who perhaps hold out for extra profits, or for "business as usual". And it cannot be hampered by the selfish obstruction of a small but dangerous minority of labor leaders -- (loud applause) -- who are a menace -- for labor as a whole knows that that small minority is a menace to the true cause of labor itself, as well as to the nation as a whole. (Applause)

And so the lines of our essential defense now cover all the seas; and to meet the extraordinary demands of today and tomorrow our Navy grows to unprecedented size. Our Navy is ready for action. Indeed, units of it in the Atlantic patrol are in action. Its officers and men need no praise from me.

Our new Army is steadily developing the strength needed to withstand the aggressors. Our soldiers of today are worthy of the proudest traditions of the United States Army. But traditions cannot shoot down dive bombers or destroy tanks. That is why we must and shall provide, for every one of our soldiers, equipment and weapons -- not merely as good but better than that of any other army on earth. And we are doing that right now. (Applause)

For this -- and all of this -- is what we mean by total national defense.

The first objective of that defense is to stop Hitler. He can be stopped and can be compelled to dig in. And that will be the beginning of the end of his downfall, because dictatorship of the Hitler type can live only through continuing victories and increasing conquests.

The facts of the year 1918 are proof that a mighty German army

and a tired German people can crumble rapidly and go to pieces when they are faced with successful resistance.

Nobody who admires qualities of courage and endurance can fail to be stirred by the full-fledged resistance of the Russian people. (Applause) The Russians are fighting for their own soil and their own homes. Russia needs all kinds of help -- planes, and tanks, and guns, and medical supplies and other aids -- toward the successful defense against the invaders. From the United States and from Britain, she is getting great quantities of (those) these essential supplies. But the needs of her huge (army) armies will continue -- and our help and British help will (have to) also continue!

The other day the Secretary of State of the United States was asked by a Senator to justify our giving aid to Russia. His reply was: "The answer to that Senator, depends on how anxious a person is to stop (and) to destroy the march of Hitler in his conquest of the world. If he were anxious enough to defeat Hitler, he would not worry about who was helping to defeat him". (Applause)

Upon our American production falls the colossal task of equipping our own armed forces, and helping to supply the British, and the Russians and the Chinese. In the performance of that task we dare not fail. And we will not fail.

It has not been easy for us Americans to adjust ourselves to the shocking realities of a world in which the principles of common humanity and common decency are being moved down by the firing squads of the Gestapo. We have enjoyed many of God's blessings. We have lived in a broad and abundant land, and by our industry and productivity we have made it flourish.

There are those who say that our great good fortune has betrayed

us -- that we are now no match for the regimented masses who have been trained in the Spartan ways of ruthless brutality. They say that we have grown fat, and flabby, and lazy -- and that we are doomed.

But those who say that know nothing of America or of American life.

They do not know that this land is great because it is a land of endless challenge. Our country was first populated, and it has been steadily developed, by men and women in whom there burned the spirit of adventure and restlessness and individual independence which will not tolerate oppression.

Ours has been a story, a story of vigorous challenge(s) which (have) has been accepted and overcome -- challenges of uncharted seas, of wild forests and desert plains, of raging floods and withering droughts, of foreign tyrants and domestic strife, of staggering problems -- social, and economic and physical; and we have come out of them the most powerful nation -- and the freest -- in all of history. (Applause)

Today in the face of this newest and greatest challenge of them all, we Americans have cleared our decks and taken our battle stations. We stand ready in the defense of our nation and in the faith of our fathers to do what God has given us the power to see as our full duty. (Loud and prolonged applause)

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
ON ELECTION NIGHT, NOVEMBER 4, 1941,  
DELIVERED FROM THE PORCH OF THE  
PRESIDENT'S HOME IN HYDE PARK.

(I think) This is (really) one night that we will all of us remember. My memory goes back to (in) the past century (quite a way) and as far as I know this is the first time since about 1871 that we have carried the Town for the whole Democratic ticket. And I think the one explanation is that the two present members, the Supervisor and the Superintendent of Highways, have given such good service during the past two years that the electorate of the Town decided that a few more like ('em) them wouldn't do any harm.

I said in the school yesterday that I was always starting something, and now that Elmer (Elmer Van Wagoner) is in, with a Town Board, I am going to make a suggestion which even he hasn't heard of. I am going to suggest that we have for the Town of Hyde Park, nothing in the way of an official Planning Board, but at least a group of citizens who would be called on from time to time to act as a Planning Board for the whole Town.

The reason I am saying that is because the Town is growing so fast, and there are so many new problems being presented to us from time to time, that in the long run it will pay us if we plan for the future. I don't think it will mean any increase in taxes, if we plan. And at the same time, when we do something, it will be in accordance with an effort to guess into the future, and do things that we won't have to re-do because of failure to plan (in the days to come) ahead.

I think the time has come (for doing) to do it. Up in Rhinebeck they have had a Planning Board for some time, and they have invited opinions from all kinds of people. They asked me to go up there this afternoon,

because I was a neighbor and believed in planning. They have (got) the problem of a new high school, as you know. And I went over a number of sites with the school trustees, to tell them what I thought of their relative merits. I don't pretend to be an expert, but as between the two best sites, I voted in favor of the bigger site; because we people know (that) from our own experience that one of the best things we ever did was to get school property with enough playground. We have it today in all three of our new schools.

And so I hope that with this new Town Board we can look into the future a little bit more than we have before. We are all going to watch them like hawks. We are going to be on their trail every minute. And we might as well admit that the responsibility for the new government of this Town for the next two years is going to lie in the hands of these Democratic candidates who have been duly elected today.

(And) I think that we ought to have had tonight -- of course it caught us by surprise, we weren't ready for it -- we ought to have had the largest amount of red fire that we have ever had on Election Day night.

(And) So I can properly say in behalf of the majority of the voters -- men and women of the Town of Hyde Park that we congratulate today's winners and wish them all the good luck in the world.

(And) May I say one other thing in closing, and that is this. You know there are other democracies in the world besides the United States. Quite a number of them. There is one democracy from which a great many people in the Town of Hyde Park came (from) -- that is their ancestors -- who came from Holland. We are awfully happy today to be the hosts -- this whole town -- of Princess Juliana of the Netherlands. I have been driving her around through this Township yesterday and today.

I am glad she saw an American polling place this morning -- how we voted -- the mechanics of it. I am glad she saw a Democratic victory tonight. Her mother, the Queen of the Netherlands, reigns over just as much of a democracy as we have in the United States, where people vote just the way we do, where things are decided by a congress that is not very different from ours -- a country that today unfortunately, most unfortunately, hasn't any democratic processes left under the heel of an invader.

And I think all of us hope -- for the Princess and for her mother -- that the day will come very soon when they will go back to their home in the Netherlands, to join with the life of that great -- one of the earliest of all of the democracies of the world.

(CORRECTED BY THE PRESIDENT)



CONFERENCE OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION,  
HELD IN THE EAST ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE  
November 6, 1941, 3.00 P.M.,  
And Broadcast over a Nationwide Hookup

MADAM SECRETARY PERKINS (Chairman): The International Labor Organization has been meeting in New York for ten days. 35 nations have had representatives here, 33 of them with a full representation of government, employer and worker delegates. 12 nations have sent their Ministers of Labor. 3 nations have sent other Ministers of their Cabinet, and the representation from the employer and worker groups has been equally responsible and representative.

I am delighted now to have the opportunity to present to you, and you to them -- the delegates of the International Labor Organization -- the President of the United States: (loud applause)

THE PRESIDENT:

Miss Perkins, (Mr.) Dr. Goodrich, (Mr. Phelan) Delegates and Advisors (to) of the Conference:

Taking part in a conference of the ILO is not a new experience for me. It was exactly at this time of the year, in 1919, that the ILO had its first conference in Washington. And at that time apparently someone had fallen down on the job of making the necessary physical arrangements for the conference. (Finally) And at last someone picked on the then Assistant Secretary of the Navy to help. I had to find office space in the Navy Building, as well as supplies and typewriters, etc., to get (the machinery organized) that conference started.

I well remember that in those days the ILO was still a dream. To many it was a wild dream. Who had ever heard of governments getting

together to raise the standards of labor on an international plane? Wilder still was the idea that the people themselves who were directly affected -- the workers and (the) employers of the various countries -- should have a hand with government in determining these labor standards.

(Now) And so twenty-two years have passed. The ILO has been tried and tested. It has passed childhood; it is now grown-up. Through those extravagant years of the '20's, it kept doggedly at (its) the task of shortening the hours of labor, protecting women and children in agriculture and industry, making life more bearable for the merchant seamen, and keeping the factories and mines of the world more safe and fit places for human beings to work in.

And then through the long years of depression, from 1929 on, it sought to bring about a measure of security to all workers by the establishment of things like unemployment insurance and old age insurance systems; and again to set the wheels of industry in action through the establishment of international public works, rational policies of migration of workers, and the opening of the channels of world trade.

Now for more than two years you have weathered the vicissitudes of a world at war. Though Hitler's juggernaut has crowded your permanent staff out of its own home at Geneva, here in (the) this new world, thanks in large part I like to think, (to) <sup>of</sup> the efforts of our friend, John Winant, (applause) you have been carrying on. And when this world struggle is over, you will be prepared to play your own part in formulating those social policies upon which the permanence of peace will so much depend.

Today you, the representatives of more than thirty-three nations, meet here in the White House for the final session of your conference.

It is appropriate that I recall to you, who are in a full sense a parliament for man's justice, some words that were written in this house by a President who gave his very life (in) for the cause of justice. Nearly eighty years ago, Abraham Lincoln said: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds."

The essence of our struggle today is that (men) man shall be free. There can be no real freedom for the common man without enlightened social policies. In the last analysis, they are the stakes for which democracies are today fighting.

So your concern is the concern of all democratic peoples. To many of your member states, adherence to the ILO has meant great sacrifice. There's (is) no greater evidence of the vitality of the ILO than the loyal presence here today of the representatives of the nations which suffer under the lash of the dictator. I welcome those representatives, especially.

I extend the hand of courage to the delegates of those labor organizations whose leaders are today languishing in concentration camps for having dared to stand up for the ideals without which no civilization can live. Through you, the delegates from these despoiled lands, the United States sends your people this message: "You have not been forgotten; you will not be forgotten." (loud applause)

We in the United States have so far been called upon for extremely limited sacrifices, but even in this country we are beginning to feel the beginnings of the pinch (pinch) of war. Some of these (The) names may be unfamiliar to you, but the workers of Manitowac, Wisconsin, for example, who used to make aluminum utensils, have had to sacrifice their jobs



in order that we may send planes to Britain and Russia and China. Rubber workers in a hundred scattered plants have had to sacrifice their opportunities for immediate employment in order that there may be ships to carry planes and tanks to Liverpool and Archangel and Rangoon. Tens of thousands of automobile workers (will have to be) are being shifted to other jobs in order that the copper which might have been used in automobiles may carry its deadly message from the mills of (the) Connecticut (valley) to Hitler. (But) And with all this, still we have not yet made (any) very large substantial sacrifices in the United States.

We have not, like the heroic people of Britain, had to withstand a deluge of death from the skies. Nor can we even grasp the full extent of the sacrifices that the people of China are making in their struggle for freedom from aggression. We have in amazement witnessed the Russians oppose the Nazi war -- oppose that war machine for four long months and more -- opposing it at the price of uncounted dead and a scorched earth.

Most heroic of all, however, has been the struggle of the common men and women of Europe, from Norway to Greece, against a brutal force from which, however powerful, there will be forever (inadequate) inadequacy on the part of that force to crush the fight for freedom. (applause)

As far as we in the United States are concerned, that struggle shall not be in vain. The epic stand of Britain, of China, and of Russia receive the full support of the free people of the Americas. The people of this (country) nation, and of all the rest of the American republics insist upon their right to join in the common defense.

To be sure, there are still some misguided -- unenlightened -- that is putting it politely -- some people of that kind among us -- thank God they are but (a) few -- both industrialists and leaders of labor, who place personal advantage above the welfare of their nation. There are still a few who place their little victories over one another above triumph (over) against Hitlerism. There are still some who place the profits that they may make from civilian orders above their obligation to the national defense. And there are still some who deliberately delay defense, delay defense output by using their "economic power" to force the acceptance of their demands, rather than use the established machinery for the mediation of industrial disputes.

Yes, they are but few. They do not represent the great mass of American workers and employers. The American people have made an unlimited commitment that there shall be a free world. And against that commitment, no individual (or) and no group shall prevail. (applause)

The American workman (does not) doesn't have to be convinced that the defense of the democracies is his defense. Some of you, from the conquered countries of Europe, (and) some of you from China, have told this conference with the eloquence of anguish, (how) <sup>told of</sup> /all that you have struggled for -- the social progress that you and your fellow men have achieved -- and how it is being obliterated by the barbarians.

I need not tell you that one of the first acts of the Fascist and Nazi dictators -- at home and in conquered countries -- was to abolish free trade unions and to take away from the common people the right of association. Labor alone did not suffer. Free associations of employers were also abolished. Collective bargaining has no place in their system; neither has collaboration of labor, and industry and

government.

Nor need I tell you that the Nazi Labor Front is not a labor union but an instrument to keep labor in a state of permanent subjection. Labor under the Nazi system has become the slave of the military state. (applause)

To replace Nazi workers (shipped to) at the front, (and to meet the gigantic needs of her total war effort) they have gone -- at home, I mean -- to the front to ship labor back home, or to bring it from other countries. Nazi Germany for example has imported about two million foreign civilian laborers. They have changed the occupied countries into great slave areas for the Nazi rulers. And at this moment Berlin is the principal slave-market of all the world.

The American (worker) workman has no illusions about the fate that awaits him, (and) awaits his free labor organizations if Hitler should win. He knows that his own (liberty) labor and the very safety of the people of the United States cannot be assured in a world (which) that is three-fourths slave and one-fourth free. He knows that we must furnish arms to Britain, to Russia and to China and that we must do it now -- today. (applause)

And we know by now that our place -- the place of the whole western hemisphere for example -- (in) the place in the Nazi scheme for world domination has been marked on the Nazi time-table. The choice we have to make is this: Shall we make our full sacrifices now, produce to the limit, (and) deliver our products today and every day to the (battlefronts) battlefields of the entire world? Or shall we remain satisfied with our present rate of armament output, postponing the day of real sacrifice -- as did the French -- until it is too late?



The first is the choice of realism -- realism in terms of three shifts a day; the fullest use of every vital machine every minute of every day and every night; realism in terms of staying on the job and getting things made, and entrusting industrial grievances to the established machinery of collective bargaining -- the machinery set up by a free people.

The second choice is the approach of the blind and the deluded who think that perhaps we could do business with Hitler. For them there is still "plenty of time". To be sure, many of these misled individuals honestly believe that if we should later find that we can't do business with Hitler, we will roll up our sleeves later - later - later. And their tombstones, the tombstones of those people would under such circumstances bear the legend "Too late".

In the process of our working and fighting for victory, (however) we must never permit ourselves to forget the goal (which) that is beyond victory. The defeat of Hitlerism is necessary so that there may be freedom; but this war, like the last war, will produce nothing but destruction unless we prepare for the future now. We plan now for the better world that we aim to build.

If that world is to be (one) a place in which peace is to prevail, there must be (a) more abundant life for the masses of the people of all countries. In the words of the document that you know of under the name of the Atlantic Charter, we "desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security".

There are so many millions of people in this world who have never

been adequately fed and clothed and housed. By undertaking to provide a decent standard of living for these millions, the free peoples of the world can furnish employment to every man and every woman who seeks a job. (applause)

And so we are already engaged in surveying the immediate post-war requirements of a world whose economies have been disrupted by war.

We are planning not to provide temporary remedies for the ills of a stricken world; we are planning to achieve permanent cures -- to help establish a sounder world life.

To attain these goals you and I know will be no easy task. Yes, their fulfillment will require "the fullest cooperation between all nations (in the economic field)". We have learned too well that social problems and economic problems are not separate water-tight compartments in the international field any more than in the national sphere. In international, as in national affairs, economic policy can no longer be an end (in) unto itself. It is merely a means for achieving social objectives.

There must be no place in the post-war world for special privilege for either individuals or nations. And again in the words of the Atlantic Charter: "All states, great (or) and small, victor or vanquished" must have "access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity".

In the planning of such international action the ILO with its representation of labor and management, its technical knowledge and experience, will be an invaluable instrument for peace. Your organization will have an essential part to play in building up a stable international system of social justice for all peoples everywhere. As

part of you, part of your great world organization the people of the United States are determined to respond fully to the opportunity and the challenge of this historic responsibility, so well exemplified at this historic meeting in this historic home of an ancient democracy.

(loud and prolonged applause)

MADAM SECRETARY PERKINS: Mr. President, in order that you may see with your own eyes the tripartite character of this conference, three vice presidents wish to thank you for your statement today.

I first introduce Mr. Jan. Stanczyk, Minister of Labor of Poland, but today speaking on behalf of all government delegates as vice president:

(Mr. Jan Stanczyk addresses the President, in Polish.)

MADAM SECRETARY PERKINS: Mr. (Sir) John Forbes Watson, Mr. President, who represents the British employers, but who speaks today as the vice president for all employers in this group. Mr. John Forbes Watson:

MR. JOHN FORBES WATSON: Mr. President, it becomes my privilege, on behalf of the employers group of this conference, to unite with government and workers groups in expressing to you our deep gratitude for your presence with us here today.

For twenty-two years the employers group has cooperated with this organization, which is the international emblem of Democracy. We have not always agreed with the workers group, nor with the government group, but we have always realized and recognized that it is more that unites these three groups than drives them apart.

Today, when the very foundations of liberty are challenged, the three groups stand shoulder to shoulder to defend the rights of free men to associate and speak freely with each other.



Mr. President, in the past, your words and your voice have crossed the air and have sustained us in dark days. We have now met in this great free country -- pilgrims to the Statue of Liberty. And now we go our several ways, inspired by your message, sir, and feeling your guiding hand upon our shoulder, and confident that decency, honor and self-respect shall not perish from this earth. (applause)

MADAM SECRETARY PERKINS: Mr. Jose Domenech, workers delegate from Argentina, but today speaking to you on behalf of the workers of this conference:

(Mr. Jose Domenech addresses the President, in Spanish.)

MADAM SECRETARY PERKINS: This Session -- this Conference of the International Labor Organization is ended.

The President has indicated he will be glad to receive you, if you will come forward in this motion.

(The 250 delegates were then presented to the President by Madam Secretary Perkins.)

THE PRESIDENT: (to Madam Secretary Perkins) It was a grand party.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
DELIVERED IN THE  
AMPHITHEATRE, ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY,  
ARMISTICE DAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1941, 11:06 A.M.  
AND BROADCAST OVER A NATIONWIDE RADIO HOOKUP

You who have served, you serve today.

Among the great days of national remembrance, none is more deeply moving to Americans of our generation than the Eleventh of November, the Anniversary of the Armistice of 1918, the day sacred to the memory of those who gave their lives in the war which that day ended.

Our observance of this Anniversary has, I think, a particular significance in the year 1941.

For we are able today as we were not always able in the past to measure our indebtedness to those who died.

A few years ago, even a few months, we questioned, some of us, the sacrifice they had made. Standing near (to) the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Sergeant York of Tennessee, on a recent day spoke to such questioners. "There are those in this country today", said Sergeant York, "who ask me and other veterans, veterans of the World War Number One 'What did it get you?'"

Today we know the answer -- all of us. All who search their hearts in honesty and candor know it.

We know that these men died to save their country from a terrible danger of that day. We know, because we face that danger once again on this day.

"What did it get you?"

People who asked that question of Sergeant York and his comrades forgot the one essential fact which every man who looks can see today.

They forgot that the danger (which) that threatened this country in 1917 was real -- (and) that the sacrifice of those who died averted that danger.

Because the danger was overcome they were unable to remember that the danger had been present.

Because our armies were victorious they demanded why our armies had fought.

Because our freedom was secure they took the security of our freedom for granted and asked why those who died to save it should have died at all.

"What did it get you?"

"What was there in it for you?"

If our armies of 1917 and 1918 had lost there would not have been a man or woman in America who would have wondered why the war was fought. The reasons would have faced us everywhere. We would have known why liberty (is) was worth defending as those alone whose liberty is lost can know it. We would have known why tyranny is worth defeating as only those whom tyrants rule can know.

But because the war had been won we forgot, some of us, that the war might have been lost.

Whatever we knew or thought we knew a few years or months ago, we know now that the danger of brutality, (and) the danger of tyranny and slavery to freedom-loving peoples can be real and terrible.

We know why these men fought to keep up our freedom -- and why the wars that save a people's liberties are wars worth fighting and worth winning -- (and) at any (price) cost. (applause)

"What did it get you?"



The men of France, prisoners in their cities, victims of searches and of seizures without law, hostages for the safety of their masters' lives, robbed of their harvests, murdered in their prisons -- the men of France would know the answer to that question. They know now what a former victory of freedom against tyranny was worth.

The Czechs (too) know the answer too. The Poles. The Danes. The Dutch. The Serbs. The Belgians. The Norwegians. The Greeks.

We know it now.

We know that it was, in literal truth, to make the world safe for democracy that we took up arms in 1917. It was, in simple truth and in literal fact, to make the world habitable for decent and self-respecting men and women that those whom we now remember gave their lives. They died to prevent then the very thing that now, a quarter of a century later, has happened from one end of Europe to the other.

Now that it has happened we know in full the reason why they died.

We know also what obligation and duty their sacrifice imposes upon us. They did not die to make the world safe for decency and self-respect for five years or ten or maybe twenty. They died to make it safe. And if, by some fault of ours who lived beyond the war, its safety has again been threatened then the obligation and the duty are ours. It is in our charge now, as it was America's charge after the Civil War, to see to it "that these dead shall not have died in vain". Sergeant York spoke thus of the cynics and the doubters: "The thing they forget is that liberty and freedom and democracy are so very precious that you do not fight to win them once and stop. You do not do that. Liberty and freedom and democracy are prizes awarded only to those peoples who fight to win them and then keep fighting eternally to hold them". (applause)

The people of America agree with that. They believe that liberty is worth fighting for. And if they are obliged to fight they will fight eternally to hold it.

This duty we owe, not to ourselves alone, but to the many dead who died to gain our freedom for us -- to make the world a place where freedom can live and grow into the ages. (applause)

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
BEFORE THE TEACHERS' CONFERENCE,  
SPONSORED BY THE DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENTS OF DUTCHESS COUNTY,  
IN THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM,  
Hyde Park, N. Y., November 3, 1941.

MRS. HUNDALL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I feel rather embarrassed at being in the presence of so much learning. It is a very auspicious day for me, because it is the first time that I have been on this platform, and it is the first time that I have seen the auditorium filled. I am (awfully) happy that we have at last put through in this town of ours, and the north part of the town of Poughkeepsie, a consolidated school system. We were at it a long time. But things in a democracy do take a long time, and it is a mighty good thing that they do. (And) I think that this town, for example, is a lot better off for having talked about whether it wanted a consolidated school district in place of nine, or eleven or fourteen little school districts.

I think it is better we talked about that for ten or fifteen years than if we had belonged to the kind of society where somebody way up on top -- some dictator -- had said to the Town of Hyde Park fifteen years ago, "You have got to have one." It is a pretty good illustration of the difference between the kind of government -- kind of social setup that we have been accustomed to for several hundred years -- and this new thing that is called a "new order" for the world, something in which the people themselves -- fathers and (the) mothers and (the) children for that matter -- have nothing to say. Somebody up on top proclaims himself wiser than the aggregate of what we call public opinion.

I don't think we are ever coming to this "new order" of the world in this country, and I hope very much that the rest of the world won't be



forced into it, because if the rest of the world were forced into it, this country of ours would become a little oasis, where all the old things were still going on, but were being pressed on on all sides by this so-called "new order" world. We like to do things, talk about them, fight about them among ourselves, say pretty awful things to each other, and finally work things out.

It always reminds me -- this system of ours -- of a remark that James Bryce, the famous historian, made in my presence in Washington, when Uncle Ted was President. We were talking about different forms of government, and Lord Bryce, who was the British Ambassador and had a twinkle in his eye -- as is very essential for all people, not alone Ambassadors -- said, "You know, you people in this country and in Canada, and other places where there are democracies, are singularly fortunate in having a Federal system. And we all said, "Why?"

"Well," he said, "You have (got) 48 States in this country, and somebody comes along, and one of those States has a bright idea, something that sounds perfectly grand, something very novel, something that the people in that particular State grab ahold of on election day and put into effect. And sometimes it is an awfully good idea, and sometimes it is a pretty poor idea."

And as he said, "perhaps I shouldn't refer to the States of the Union as dogs, but it is a little bit like the idea of trying it on the dog, and if it works, it will spread to other States, and if it doesn't work, it will stop right there, and some day be repealed."

(And) If you look back into our history as a country for a hundred and fifty years, you will find that a great many things that today we are accepting as part of our lives and part of our system, have been

brought forward in just that way. First they have been tried on the dog, and they worked. Then they have been tried in several other places, and they worked. And gradually they extended to the body politic of the United States.

(You) Take my own memory of schools in this township of ours. A great many years ago, when I was a boy, my father was one of the school trustees for a great many years, and he used to take me when I was eight or ten years old, to sit outside the little old school-house in the village to hold the horses. And I remember one day he came out of the school saying, "Well, they beat me."

He said, "They voted me down. You know I have tried to put a course in carpentry into this school for a long time."

Carpentry for the boys. But nobody had ever heard of teaching carpentry to the boys, and besides that a course in carpentry would not have brought any money in from Albany, from the Board of Regents. So, in place of carpentry, the School Board voted a course from which they got (so) many dollars from Albany -- a course in Comparative Anatomy.

Then I got back home, and my father said, "I wanted to have a course in the basement of the school, for the girls, in cooking and sewing."

My dear mother was very much interested in that. They turned it down. Nobody had ever heard of teaching cooking and sewing to girls. They were supposed to pick it up at home. Some of them did, but a lot of them didn't. And in place of that -- they (got) could get no money for that -- they put in a course in German and French Literature.

So, you see, I have gone through (a good) many experiences (and taken a long time). And yet today almost every school in this State, and most other States (are) is teaching a lot of practical things that were

not taught in the earlier days. (And) But I wonder -- in view of the complexity of our civilization -- whether our schools are keeping up with the growth of that complexity. In other words, while we are more practical in the curriculum in every school and most colleges in this country, are we practical enough? (And) That is what I want to say a few words about.

I know that some of the things that I am going to mention have been done -- partially. But I raise the question as to whether they have been done sufficiently -- as to whether we can't be more practical in turning out boys and girls from high school in a more practical way to meet the things that they are going to meet as soon as they go to work, and as soon as they go out into life.

I always think of that case of (mine) my own, when I had gone through school, and gone through college, and then gone to a law school for three years -- duly admitted to the bar -- a full-fledged lawyer. I went (down) to a (great) big law office in New York, and somebody the day after I got there said, "Go up and answer the calendar call in the Supreme Court tomorrow morning. We have such and such a case on."

(You know that) I had never been in a court of law in my life, and yet I was a full-fledged lawyer. Perhaps I was lucky not to have been in a court before that.

Then the next day somebody gave me a deed of transfer of some land. He said, "Take it up to the County Clerk's Office." I had never been in a County Clerk's Office. And there I was, theoretically a full-fledged lawyer. A member of a so-called learned profession. I always have my doubts about the word 'learned', but at least it was a profession.

Now there is an awful lot of this in this life, a lot of people who go out into life, whether they go to work, or get married, or go to



high school or go to college or a professional school. They are going out into life unprepared for (a great) many things that happen to the average man or woman with comparative frequency. Things (that are) in their own (communities) community and their own County that definitely affect their lives.

Always in the past we could say, "Well, they learned this or that from experience." But of course we know that learning things by experience is a (pretty) costly way of doing it (especially if you have schools for everybody). I wonder whether there aren't ways in which we can improve our knowledge of things that touch our lives before we graduate from high school.

(Well) Just for example, take our own County. I wonder whether the high school students in this town could not be taken into our County Seat. (It's) This is done a little, but it could be done so much more.

Take the subject of Government. I (would) should like to see every boy and girl in this school taken down to see one of the courts in Poughkeepsie -- I hope for the first time. The City Court, the County Court, the Supreme Court -- yes, the Police Court in Poughkeepsie. I (would) should like to see them taken into the Surrogate's Court. You know there are a lot of teachers in this County that have never been inside the Surrogate's Court. Learn what the settlement of an estate means. Learn about trust funds that are set up. Learn something about the machinery. There are lots of other places to visit that most of us really don't know about. I am one of the guilty people myself.

Take the health system of this County. Well, we know about it rather vaguely, but all of us ought to know what we are doing, and what we are not doing for public health.

Then there is the County highway system. Take the various other

portions of the County government -- the District Attorney's office and the City government in the City of Poughkeepsie. That is only the beginning of it. After all, that is just one side that touches us. Government touches us all. We would know more about our taxes and what they are for if we knew our County government better.

(but) There are a lot of other things. Think, for example, how few people know anything about a department store. How is it run? I am very sure that the department stores in the City of Poughkeepsie would be only too glad to have high school classes come in there and learn how a department store is run. The problem of the chain store and why it differs from other stores. The problem of the butcher, the baker and the candlestick-maker in their own professions, because more and more they are becoming professions that you have got to know a lot about, if you are going to succeed. How many people in this high school know anything about the running of a great industrial plant? The cream separator plant down here. Do we all know where their raw materials come from? Do we know how the different parts that go into a cream separator are manufactured? Do we know how they are assembled? And finally, do we know how they are sold to the public?

And then, just as another example -- banking. I think the banks in Poughkeepsie -- they might have to have some special guards, but I hope not -- would be glad to have as visitors classes that come from round-about the County -- classes that would be taken behind the cage, and be told by the president of the bank how the bank is run and what the bank does with your money, and mine, as depositors. (You know) It is an amazing thing that in 1932, early 1933, when the banks began closing all over the place, one chief reason for the closing of those banks was that everybody

all of a sudden went there at the same time to get (this) his money out.

And the banks had to close. (And) It wasn't until the banks all had to be closed and the thing was explained to them that the people of this country put their money back into the banks. They didn't realize that a bank does not take your money and put it in the safe and keep it there against the day when you may call for it. They didn't realize that the wheels of industry were dependent on banking loans, that your money in that bank, nearly all of it, was passed right on by the bank to home builders and industries, and all kinds of things that make the wheels go round in our country.

(Well) I (would) should like to go behind the cage of a bank and learn a lot more about it than I know today. (And it seems to me that) There are so many things that I could talk about along that line. I have only sketched the idea. We are beginning to do it a little, but not enough.

I suppose it will come as a shock to most of us if we realize what a very large percentage of foodstuffs that we eat in the Town of Hyde Park comes from New York City. Now that is an amazing thing when you begin to think it over. Things that are grown on the farm come to Dutchess County from New York City.

Oh, to be sure, they come from all over the United States, but it makes us wonder a little bit as to whether those foodstuffs couldn't be grown in greater volume in our own County and help out our own prosperity. (Now) Those are things that affect the lives of every family in this township. If we take that kind of an interest in our own lives we begin to figure out and think our economics through -- national economics. Well, of course, there is no such thing, I have always claimed, as a proven system of economics. I took economics courses in college for four years, and



everything that I was taught was wrong. The economics of the beginning of this century are completely out of date. Why? Experience. Things have happened. Wars have gone on. World trade is a very different thing from what it was, and national economics -- so-called -- is a very different thing from what it was in the old days. We are groping. We are reaching upward to meet a given situation today which may be entirely different six months from now. But at the same time, if we look into our own economics at home, we get an interest in the economics of the country.

I remember the first year I went down to Warm Springs, about 17 years ago. I was awakened every night for two or three nights, about half-past one in the morning, by a very heavy railroad train going through town. And as it went through town, the Fireman had his hand on the whistle and woke up everybody. What he had intended to do was to salute the young lady in town that he was engaged to. But (we) he woke everybody else up.

I went down to the station, after two or three nights of being waked up, and I said to the station-master, "What's that train that goes through at half-past one in the morning, that makes that awful noise?"

"Well," he said, "That's the milk train. Milk and cream."

And I said, "Where is it going?"

"Oh, it's going down to Florida, to Miami, Tampa, Palm Beach."

I said, "That's very interesting."

Knowing, of course, that the climate in South Florida does not make it exactly a favorable dairy country, I said to him in the way of conversation, "Where does it come from, North Georgia?"

"Oh, no," he said, "it doesn't come from North Georgia. It comes from Wisconsin."

I said, "What? Nearly two thousand miles -- milk and cream for Florida."

Well, it was milk raised in Wisconsin, taken down in refrigerator cars, through Illinois and a corner of Indiana and a corner of Ohio -- all dairy States, and through Kentucky -- which certainly is a dairy State, and Tennessee, and then into the North of Georgia, which is a grand country for making any kind of dairy products. But none are made there. And they carried that milk and cream down through Georgia and into Florida.

Now, something is wrong with that kind of national economics. I use that just as an illustration. If we get interested in those problems at home our interest will extend to the county, and then to the Hudson River Valley, and then the rest of the State of New York, so to the East, and the Middle West and the other parts of the (country) nation.

I hope very much that education is going to keep pace in the next few years with the demands of our modern civilization that is proceeding at a pace that is faster than it has ever moved before. I think we Americans are proud of this system of life of ours. It is a system that has been challenged, challenged by those people who would impose (impost) a new and different system. It is my belief, in meetings like this, that people can get together and swap ideas, even if it takes ten or fifteen years to get things through, if we are headed along the course that we follow with the definite intention of keeping on striving for newer and better things in the good old-fashioned democratic processes, republican processes -- both spelled with small letters.

If we do that, these boys and girls of ours who are reaching maturity are going to be very happy that the old people were able to look far enough ahead to make sure that our American system will last for hundreds and hundreds of years.

I am glad to have been here. I wish I could come back here, and

yet it probably would not be a good thing, because if I came back here -- I have that rather disagreeable mentality -- if I came back here -- got away from Washington, I would probably start in to try to reform Dutchess County. I don't think that the County does need reforming, or the Town of Hyde Park, but I probably would try to do it, nevertheless.

So I hope you will bear with me in those days when I really do come back here -- very soon -- to live, if I continue at least to take a real interest. (And) If I still try to get people to do things too fast, or do them my way, and not theirs, I hope that you people will be the first to tell me to "go way back and sit down."

Thanks.

(CORRECTED BY THE PRESIDENT)

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I have asked you gentlemen to come here this morning to give you certain facts covering the business of the Government of the United States operating under the Constitution. I will ask you when I have finished to withdraw, either to the Cabinet room or some place of your own choice .....in order to confer in a final effort to insure continued production of coal for the manufacture of steel.

In the first place, we all know that the United States is in a state of national emergency. The present and future defense of the United States and of this hemisphere is at stake. It is essential to national safety that we continue the defense production program without delay, and at top speed.

Coal for steel plants is a necessity because steel is an essential in the manufacture of munitions. Therefore, the cessation of production in the coal mine industry would create a further danger to American defense, because at this vital time it would slow up production of war materials.

I think that conclusion is unmistakable, and is approved by the overwhelming majority of Americans.

Because it is essential to national defense that the necessary coal production be continued and not stopped, it is therefore the indisputable obligation of the President to see that this is done.

In spite of what some people say, I seek always to be a Constitutional President.

If legislation becomes necessary toward this end the Congress of the United States will without any question pass such legislation. And as some of you know, the pressure on me to ask for legislation during the past couple of months, for one reason or another, has been not only constant, but it has been very heavy.

I am telling you this with absolutely no element of threat. To this conference I am stating a simple fact. I hope, therefore, that you will work out some method for the continued production of coal.

In regard to the collective bargaining, which I am asking you to resume at the end of this meeting, I have two suggestions for you to consider.

The first is that you continue negotiations, with the hope that you can arrive at a conclusion, and that if you do not arrive at a conclusion, you will submit the point, or points at issue, to an arbiter, or arbiters, or anybody else with any other name, and that in the meantime coal production continue.

The second is that you consider other methods relating to employment. As I understand it, the wage question and the check-off are not involved in this at all.

I tell you frankly that the Government of the United States will not order, nor will Congress pass legislation ordering, a so-called closed shop. It is true that by agreement between employers and employees in many plants of various industries the closed shop is now in operation. This is a result of the legal collective bargaining, and not of Government compulsion on employers or employees. It is also true that 95% or more of the employees in these particular mines belong to the United Mine Workers Union.

The Government will never compel this 5% to join the Union by a Government decree. That would be too much like the Hitler methods toward labor.

I must reiterate that because of the need of continuing and speeding up the defense needs of the United States, because they are so clearly involved, and because lack of coal for our steel plants would injure

the defense of the nation, it is a national necessity that the production of this coal be continued without delay.

And so I am asking you -- I never threaten -- I am asking you to please talk over this problem of continuing coal production. If you can't agree today, please keep on conferring tomorrow and Sunday. I don't want any action that is precipitate. I want every chance given.

And let me have some kind of a report on Monday next -- a report of agreement, or at the least a report that you are making progress.

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONFERENCE  
HELD AT THE WHITE HOUSE, NOVEMBER 14, 1941,  
BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF OWNERS AND EMPLOYEES  
IN THE COAL MINE SITUATION.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 14, 1941

Ten copies of this statement were typed up, before the mimeograph copy for the press.

A copy each was handed to Mr. Fairless, Mr. Purnell and Mr. Grace, who were waiting in General Watson's office. (around 12.40 p.m.)

A copy each was sent via Messenger to Room 200-B, Wardman Park Hotel, in care of Mr. John L. Lewis, for Mr. Philip Murray, Mr. Thomas Kennedy, and Mr. John L. Lewis. (around 1.30 p.m.) (according to Mr. Catts, Wardman Park Mail Clerk, this was actually delivered to Mr. Lewis at 2.00 p.m.)

One copy was given to Mr. W. D. Hassett. One copy was given to General Watson; and two copies for the President.

The heading on the statement mimeographed for the Press, was dictated by the President himself to J. Romagna.

A note accompanied the copies to Mr. John L. Lewis, reading:

"Herewith copies of the President's statement this morning.

"The White House will release this statement for publication.

"Sincerely yours,

/s/ Edwin M. Watson  
Secretary to the President"

J. Romagna  
11-17-41

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
AT THE MUCH POSTPONED THANKSGIVING DINNER  
GEORGIA HALL, WARW SPRINGS FOUNDATION,  
WARW SPRINGS, GEORGIA, SATURDAY,  
NOVEMBER 29, 1941.

(The President was introduced by Hon. Basil O'Connor)

That was just an altercation between Doc and me. He says I always sit down (referring to his mode of delivering Thanksgiving remarks at Warw Springs), I say I always stand up.

However, he gives me ideas. That's something -- I need them. They say I break precedents. The suggestion always comes from Basil O'Connor.

I don't quite know what to do about next year. Two years ago, or three years ago, I discovered I was particularly fond of turkey! So we started two Thanksgivings. And this year we added another! I don't know how many we ought to have next year. I'm open to suggestions.

It's good to be back with the Warw Springs family. It's good to see something happen, to see the family grow up, with a lot of new members of the family coming along. And I want to express the hope that the Warw Springs family will really never grow up. We will never come of age, and when we get to be twenty-one years old if anybody says we have reached our majority and become grown up, then it's time for this place to fold up.

Because after all, Warw Springs, to be successful in the future, has got to make some progress every year -- all through the years -- the same progress that we have been making during the past thirteen or fourteen years.

That gives me another idea -- which is this. Sometimes I'm really proud of things I have done. In the old days when Warw Springs consisted of Fred Botte and myself and nobody else lived here, we gradually accumulated a little group. It got a little bigger and our first Thanksgiving group

was ten or twelve, the next year twenty-five, the next year fifty, one hundred and fifty, and so on. I saw it coming, saw the problem getting bigger and bigger and more difficult to solve. Why we almost got to the point before I left off having anything to do with the management, where we needed a complaint bureau -- people with happy thoughts like the dictator tonight (referring to skit by the patients).

Well, I said to myself, the time to quit is when things are going well, so I quit as manager and I turned things over to these dictators around here with the hope they would attend to the growth of Warm Springs. And I want to take off my hat to them, all of them, to the dictators, to the nurses and to the push-boys. Because it is a wonderful thing to see this progress, and, mind you, I say it almost as an outsider these days. I am lucky now if I can get here once or twice a year.

Every time I come back I find so many new things. Two or three days here this visit won't give me nearly enough time to see all the wonderful things that have happened since last spring. And I am confident that with the sympathy and understanding of not only the trustees and the management, but also of the patients -- past and present and future -- Warm Springs is never going to grow up -- never going to stop growing -- and through the years to come it will be doing a better job than ever before.

I see all kinds of things, and I cannot help feeling that this ought to be a good Thanksgiving, especially this year. Because we people here in this room and all through this community, and this State, and the United States, are in a very unique position today. We are one of the largest nations in the world, and nearly all of the very large nations are either involved at the present time in a war of some kind -- a war of self-defense or a war of conquest, or else the lives some of these nations used to live,

have been completely blotted out and they are living the lives, not of that nice kind of dictator, but of the lives that are owned and controlled by a real dictator, who is very much awake.

And I couldn't help thinking how much better it is -- this kind of work which is being done here, that is being carried on by a medical profession and by a lot of interested people, and carried on by patients at the same time. What a wonderful system we are living in to enable that work to go on. It isn't ordered from above and it isn't government work. It is a free, independent kind of work where everybody who has an idea and wants to help has a chance to do his or her part.

And another thing, there are two big football games that I listened to on the air today, one is Georgia Institute University and Tech. At the same time another game is going on -- West Point against Annapolis -- the Army and the Navy. These are great games. They are run in the spirit of peace, and the right kind of national spirit of peace is necessary for the conduct of either the Georgia game or that game between the Army and the Navy, national institutions of budding Soldiers, Sailors and Marines.

How many other countries in the world have things like that going on? So, I think we have very great cause to be thankful, that through these years since 1918 we have been able to hold our games, and to carry on our institutions of health and education, and of cooperation along a whole lot of voluntary lines. We need to be thoroughly thankful that these years of peace were given to us. At the same time we should think not only of our own selfish purposes for this country of ours, but also think a little bit about other people, people in countries which have been overrun, people in countries which have been attacked, and, yes, people in those countries which are doing the attacking.



I think we can offer up a little, silent prayer and I think lots of us do this without anybody knowing it. And we hope that these people will next year be able to hold a Thanksgiving more like the American Thanksgiving. It is something for us to dream about perhaps, especially in days like these when it is always possible that our Thanksgiving next year may remind us of a peaceful past. It may be that next Thanksgiving these boys of the Military Academy and of the Naval Academy will be actually fighting for the defense of these American institutions of ours.

So, I couldn't help but think of these things when a week and a half ago I was kept there in Washington, largely because of certain dangers that have been overhanging the future of this country. And I may have to go back tomorrow or next day, and I may be able to stay until Tuesday.

But at least it has given me faith and hope in the United States.

So tonight there are a lot of new faces and a lot of old faces, of grown-ups and younger people, and a little later I want to go out to the door as I have done since 1925 or 1926, and greet you personally and clasp your hand.

Thanks.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
to  
State Chairmen of Birthday Ball Committees  
December 2, 1941 -- 5.00 P.M.

I have been put in an awful hole. I don't know whether to get angry about it, or cry. I am getting a large correspondence congratulating me on being 75 years old. I think it is up to you people to take care of it. You have an awful lot of explaining to do. We find that there is what might be called a conflict of opinion in the matter. I think probably the average person in this country says that a diamond jubilee is 75 years old. On the other hand, all the jewelers in the country say it is 60. So there we are.

I have had a few other shocks. Keith sent in word the other day, offering to me this very beautiful diamond. I read a part of the letter on the front page, about what a wonderful diamond it was -- a first cousin of the Kohinoor, or something like that -- it sounded fine. Then I turned over the page, and I found out that the darn thing was going to be raffled.

Well, I suppose the correct word for it is 'technique', which you are all experienced in. I don't know anything about technique. It's all right -- but whatever it is, I think it is going to be a pretty good year for the fight against infantile paralysis.

I had expected to get enough time down in Warm Springs to see what had happened down there in that particular end of the thing. Of course, that is only one out of a thousand different forms of the fight that we are all engaged in. Things down there are going awfully well. There was a bit of an epidemic this year, but at Warm Springs we were 118 patients, which was exceedingly good. Of course, we multiply that by three to get the total number that are taken care of during the year, and that is only a drop in

the bucket -- 350 children a year. But it is educational, and we are learning a lot through that particular work of the national foundation. And I think we are not only learning a lot, but I told them down there, at the dinner, I hoped we will never have a 21st anniversary of the founding of the Warm Springs Foundation. I never want it to grow up. If it once grows up, it will stop growing. The whole work that we are engaged in is the kind of thing that unless it continues to grow and be useful, it will begin to die, and will get towards old age. And I never want to do that.

I have always felt for the young people all over the country, and therefore all the foundations, the experimental place at Warm Springs and all the work of every State and every County and every Community has got to be kept young, as we are doing more good work every year that goes by.

I think we are pretty well established. We are on the map now. Of course it is true that during the past year, and other years, we have done an enormous amount of good. I am inclined to think that we ought to do a bit of boasting about what good work we have done; how many lives we have actually affected during the past. And of course it also is true that the bigger the work the lower the overhead. In other words, the more money that we can get raised this year the more people we can help. But the per capita cost on the whole will be lower, and relatively it will be a larger number of children who have been affected by infantile paralysis who will be helped locally; and also the more money we can afford on the research side.

I think it was Doc O'Connor who was telling me the other day about some enthusiastic advertising man who had written out something. He started off with the sentence: "Of course it is true that infantile paralysis is relatively a very small trouble in the total of our health problem." Of course, that man ought not to be in the advertising business, but in something



else.

It is true in one sense that the number of children who have come down with infantile paralysis in the course of a given year is relatively small, compared with the number of people with heart trouble and a few other ailments. Nevertheless, it is such a crippling disease. People don't die -- very few of them -- that the effect of it all through the community and every part of the country is fully out of proportion to their own families and their own lives. There are a great many other troubles, like pneumonia, and so forth and so on.

The public, I think, is coming to realize the importance of what we are doing. We have pretty well got rid of certain scourges that existed in the past. The scourge of T.B. is so much better than it was in our grandparents' day. There is absolutely no comparison. We can go back to any family Bible and read about the death of young people from -- they didn't call it T.B. in those days -- they called it "they went into another clime, and died" (?) We are getting on top of certain things. There are other diseases that we don't know nearly so many things about.

Well, we are headed to do the same thing with infantile paralysis, but we haven't got there. I think that is why we need to keep these Birthday parties going until we have achieved the ultimate objective.

I am awfully grateful to you all for having come these long distances. I really think it is very, very worthwhile, and I can say personally that it gives me an awful lot of pleasure and happiness to have you carrying on this work, not for me, but for the country as a whole.

(applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Are you having a party tonight?

KEITH MORGAN: A little birthday party tonight.



THE PRESIDENT: Good.

KEITH MORGAN: Mr. President, one of the Chairmen said this morning that he hoped the Japanese backed down, because since they brought you back from Warm Springs, they felt unkindly toward them. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: You know, I am very peaceful myself, up to a limit.

(applause and laughter)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
BROADCAST FROM THE OVAL ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE,  
NATIONALLY, AND OVER A WORLD-WIDE HOOKUP  
DECEMBER 9, 1941 -- 10.00 P.M.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

The sudden criminal attacks perpetrated by the Japanese in the Pacific provide the climax of a decade of international immorality.

Powerful and resourceful gangsters have banded together to make war upon the whole human race. Their challenge has now been flung at the United States of America. The Japanese have treacherously violated the longstanding peace between us. Many American soldiers and sailors have been killed by enemy action. American ships have been sunk; American airplanes have been destroyed.

The Congress and the people of the United States have accepted that challenge.

Together with other free peoples, we are now fighting to maintain our right to live among our world neighbors in freedom, (and) in common decency, without fear of assault.

I have prepared the full record of our past relations with Japan, and it will be submitted to the Congress. It begins with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan eighty-eight years ago. It ends with the visit of two Japanese emissaries to the Secretary of State last Sunday, and hour after Japanese forces had loosed their bombs and machine guns against our flag, our forces and our citizens.

I can say with utmost confidence that no Americans today or a thousand years hence, need feel anything but pride in our patience and in our efforts through all the years toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no

honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special envoys in our midst.

The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and in Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is collaboration, actual collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield.

In 1931, ten years ago, Japan invaded Manchukuo -- without warning.

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia -- without warning.

In 1938, Hitler occupied Austria -- without warning.

In 1939, Hitler invaded Czecho-Slovakia -- without warning.

Later in (1939) '39, Hitler invaded Poland -- without warning.

In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, (Holland) the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg -- without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece -- without warning.

And this year, in 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Jugoslavia and Greece and they dominated the Balkans -- without warning.

In 1941, also, Hitler invaded Russia -- without warning.

And now Japan has attacked Malaya and Thailand -- and the United States -- without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

We are now in this war. We are all in it -- all the way. Every single man, woman and child is a partner in the most tremendous undertaking

of our American history. We must share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats and the victories -- the changing fortunes of war.

So far, the news has (all) been all bad. We have suffered a serious set-back in Hawaii. Our forces in the Philippines, which include the brave people of that Commonwealth, are taking punishment, but are defending themselves vigorously. The reports from Guam and Wake and Midway Islands are still confused, but we must be prepared for the announcement that all these three outposts have been seized.

The casualty lists of these first few days will undoubtedly be large. I deeply feel the anxiety of all of the families of the men in our armed forces and the relatives of people in cities which have been bombed. I can only give them my solemn promise that they will get news just as quickly as possible.

This Government will put its trust in the stamina of the American people, and will give the facts to the public just as soon as two conditions have been fulfilled: first, that the information has been definitely and officially confirmed; and, second, that the release of the information at the time it is received will not prove valuable to the enemy directly or indirectly.

Most earnestly I urge my countrymen to reject all rumors. These ugly little hints of complete disaster fly thick and fast in wartime. They have to be examined and appraised.

As an example, I can tell you frankly that until further surveys are made, I have not sufficient information to state the exact damage which has been done to our naval vessels at Pearl Harbor. Admittedly the damage is serious. But no one can say how serious, until we know how much of this damage can be repaired and how quickly the necessary repairs can be made.



I cite as another example a statement made on Sunday night that a Japanese carrier had been located and sunk off the Canal Zone. And when you hear statements that are attributed to what they call "an authoritative source", you can be reasonably sure from now on that under these war circumstances the "authoritative source" (was) is not any person in authority.

Many rumors and reports which we now hear originate, of course, with enemy sources. For instance, today the Japanese are claiming that as a result of their one action against Hawaii they have gained naval supremacy in the Pacific. This is an old trick of propaganda which has been used innumerable times by the Nazis. The purposes of such fantastic claims are, of course, to spread fear and confusion among us, and to goad us into revealing military information which our enemies are desperately anxious to obtain.

Our Government will not be caught in this obvious trap -- and neither will (our) the people of the United States.

It must be remembered by each and every one of us that our free and rapid communication these days must be greatly restricted in wartime. It is not possible to receive full, and speedy, and accurate reports from distant areas of combat. This is particularly true where naval operations are concerned. For in these days of the marvels of the radio it is often impossible for the Commanders of various units to report their activities by radio at all, for the very simple reason that this information would become available to the enemy, and would disclose their position and their plan of defense or attack.

Of necessity there will be delays in officially confirming or denying reports of operations but we will not hide facts from the country if we know the facts and if the enemy will not be aided by their disclosure.

To all newspapers and radio stations -- all those who reach the eyes and ears of the American people -- I say this: You have a most grave responsibility to the nation now and for the duration of this war.

If you feel that your Government is not disclosing enough of the truth, you have every right to say so. But -- in the absence of all the facts, as revealed by official sources -- you have no right in the ethics of patriotism to deal out unconfirmed reports in such a way as to make people believe that they are gospel truth.

Every citizen, in every walk of life, shares this same responsibility. The lives of our soldiers and sailors -- the whole future of this nation -- depend upon the manner in which each and every one of us fulfills his obligation to our country.

Now a word about the recent past -- and the future. A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France, when the whole world first realized the mechanized might which the Axis nations had been building up for so many years. America has used that year and a half to great advantage. Knowing that the attack might reach us in all too short a time, we immediately began greatly to increase our industrial strength and our capacity to meet the demands of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of our war material to the nations of the world still able to resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth that the defense of any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country. That policy has been justified. It has given us time, invaluable time, to build our American assembly lines of production.

Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being rushed to completion. A steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns and ships, (of

and shells and equipment -- that is what these eighteen months have given us.

But it is all only a beginning of what still has to be done. We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bandits. The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points, points in both oceans and along both our coast lines and against all the rest of the Hemisphere.

It will not only be a long war, it will be a hard war. That is the basis on which we now lay all our plans. That is the yardstick by which we measure what we shall need and demand; money, materials, doubled and quadrupled production -- ever-increasing. The production must be not only for our own Army and Navy and air forces. It must reinforce the other armies and navies and air forces fighting the Nazis and the war lords of Japan throughout the Americas and throughout the world.

I have been working today on the subject of production. Your Government has decided on two broad policies.

The first is to speed up all existing production by working on a seven-day-week basis in every war industry, including the production of essential raw materials.

The second policy, now being put into form, is to rush additions to the capacity of production by building more new plants, by adding to old plants, and by using the many smaller plants for war needs.

Over the hard road of the past months, we have at times met obstacles and difficulties, divisions and disputes, indifference and callousness. That is now all past -- and, I am sure, forgotten.

The fact is that the country now has an organization in Washington built around men and women who are recognized experts in their own fields. I think the country knows that the people who are actually responsible in



each and every one of these many fields are pulling together with a teamwork that has never before been excelled.

On the road ahead there lies hard work -- gruelling work -- day and night, every hour and every minute.

I was about to add that ahead there lies sacrifice for all of us.

But it is not correct to use that word. The United States does not consider it a sacrifice to do all one can, to give one's best to our nation, when the nation is fighting for its existence and its future life.

It is not a sacrifice for any man, old or young, to be in the Army or the Navy of the United States. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice for the industrialist or the wage-earner, the farmer or the shopkeeper, the trainman or the doctor, to pay more taxes, to buy more bonds, to forego extra profits, to work longer or harder at the task for which he is best fitted. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice to do without many things to which we are accustomed if the national defense calls for doing without it.

A review this morning leads me to the conclusion that at present we shall not have to curtail the normal use of articles of food. There is enough food today for all of us and enough left over to send to those who are fighting on the same side with us.

But there will be a clear and definite shortage of metals (of) for many kinds (for) of civilian use, for the very good reason that in our increased program we shall need for war purposes more than half of that portion of the principal metals which during the past year have gone into articles for civilian use. Yes, we shall have to give up many things entirely.

And I am sure that the people in every part of the nation are prepared in their individual living to win this war. I am sure that they will

cheerfully help to pay a large part of its financial cost while it goes on. I am sure they will cheerfully give up those material things that they are asked to give up.

And I am sure that they will retain all those great spiritual things without which we cannot win through.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final (and) -- complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

In my Message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again". In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

In these past few years -- and, most violently, in the past (few) three days -- we have learned a terrible lesson.

It is our obligation to our dead -- it is our sacred obligation to their children and to our children -- that we must never forget what we have learned.

And what we (all) have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any nation -- or any individual -- in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-girt hemisphere is not immune from severe attack -- that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on any map any more.

We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed a brilliant feat of deception, perfectly timed and executed with great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed, but we must face the fact that modern warfare as conducted in the Nazi manner is a dirty business. We don't like it -- we didn't want to get in it -- but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got.

I do not think any American has any doubt of our ability to administer proper punishment to the perpetrators of these crimes.

Your Government knows that for weeks Germany has been telling Japan that if Japan did not attack the United States, Japan would not share in dividing the spoils with Germany when peace came. She was promised by Germany that if she came in she would receive the complete and perpetual control of the whole of the Pacific area -- and that means not only the Far East, (not only) but also all of the Islands in the Pacific, (but) and also a stranglehold on the west coast of North, and Central and South America.

We (also) know (know) also that Germany and Japan are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and nations which are not helping the Axis powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis powers.

That is their simple and obvious grand strategy. And that is why the American people must realize that it can be matched only with similar grand strategy. We must realize for example that Japanese successes against the United States in the Pacific are helpful to German operations in Libya; that any German success against the Caucasus is inevitably an assistance to Japan in her operations against the Dutch East Indies; that a German attack against Algiers or Morocco opens the way to a German attack against South America, and the Canal.



On the other side of the picture, we must learn also to know that guerilla warfare against the Germans in, let us say Serbia or Norway, helps us; that a successful Russian offensive against the Germans helps us; and that British successes on land or sea in any part of the world strengthen our hands.

Remember always that Germany and Italy, regardless of any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they consider themselves at war with Britain (and) or Russia. And Germany puts all the other Republics of the Americas into the same category of enemies. The people of our sister Republics of this (the) Hemisphere can be honored by that fact.

The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers -- we are builders.

We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children. We expect to eliminate the danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

So we are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the (dark) difficult hours of this day -- (and) through dark days that may be yet to come -- we will know that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. (For) But, in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well -- our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
BROADCAST IN CONNECTION WITH  
THE CELEBRATION OF THE 150th ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE ADOPTION OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS  
DECEMBER 15, 1941

FREE AMERICANS:

No date in the long history of freedom means more to liberty-loving men in all liberty-loving countries than the fifteenth day of December, 1791. On that day, one hundred and fifty years ago, a new nation, through an elected Congress, adopted a declaration of human rights which has influenced the thinking of all mankind from one end of the world to the other.

There is not a single Republic of this Hemisphere which has not adopted in its fundamental law the basic principles of freedom of man and freedom of mind enacted in the American Bill of Rights.

There is not a country, large or small, on this continent and in this world which has not felt the influence of that document, directly or indirectly.

Indeed, prior to the year 1933, the essential validity of the American Bill of Rights was accepted everywhere at least in principle. Even today, with the exception of Germany, Italy and Japan, the peoples of the whole world -- in all probability four-fifths of them -- support its principles, its teachings and its glorious results.

But, in the year 1933, there came to power in Germany a political clique which did not accept the declarations of the American Bill of human rights as valid; a small clique of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians whose announced and admitted platform was precisely the destruction of the rights that instrument declared. Indeed the entire program and goal of

these political and moral tigers was nothing more than the overthrow, throughout the earth, of the great revolution of human liberty of which our American Bill of Rights is the mother charter.

The truths which were self-evident to Thomas Jefferson -- which have been self-evident to the six generations of Americans who followed him -- were to these men hateful. The rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which seemed (to Jefferson) to the Founders of the Republic, and which seem to us, inalienable, were, to Hitler and his fellows, empty words which they proposed to cancel forever.

The propositions they advanced to take the place of Jefferson's inalienable rights were these:

That the individual human being has no rights (whatever) whatsoever in himself and by virtue of his humanity;

That the individual human being has no right to a soul of his own, or a mind of his own, or a tongue of his own, or a trade of his own; or even to live where he pleases or to marry the woman he loves;

That his only duty is the duty of obedience, not to his God, (and) not to his conscience, but to Adolf Hitler; and that his only value is his value, not as a man, but as a unit of the Nazi state.

To Hitler the ideal of the people, as we conceive it -- the free, self-governing and responsible people -- is incomprehensible. The people, to Hitler, are "the masses" and the highest human idealism is, in his own words, that a man should wish to become "a dust particle" of the order "of force" which is to shape (the) his universe.

To Hitler, the government, as we conceive it, is an impossible conception. The government to him is not the servant and the instrument of the people but their absolute master and the dictator of their every act.



To Hitler the church, as we conceive it, is a monstrosity to be destroyed by every means at his command. The Nazi church is to be the "National Church", a pagan church, "absolutely and exclusively in the service of but one doctrine, one race, (and) one nation".

To Hitler, the freedom of men to think as they please and speak as they please and worship as they please is, of all things imaginable, most hateful and most desperately to be feared.

The issue of our time, the issue of the war in which we are engaged, is the issue forced upon the decent, self-respecting peoples of the earth by the aggressive dogmas of this attempted revival of barbarism; this proposed return to tyranny; this effort to impose again upon the peoples of the world doctrines of absolute obedience, (and) of dictatorial rule, (and) of the suppression of truth, (and) of the oppression of conscience, which the free nations of the earth have long ago rejected.

What we face is nothing more nor less than an attempt to overthrow and to cancel out the great upsurge of human liberty of which the American Bill of Rights is the fundamental document: to force the peoples of the earth, and among them the peoples of this continent and this nation, to accept again the absolute authority and despotic rule from which the courage and the resolution and the sacrifices of their ancestors liberated them many, many years ago.

It is an attempt, an attempt which could succeed only if those who have inherited the gift of liberty had lost the manhood to preserve it. But we Americans know that the determination of this generation of our people -- our generation -- to preserve liberty is as fixed and certain as the determination of that (earlier) early generation of Americans to win it.

We will not, under any threat, or in the face of any danger,

surrender the guarantees of liberty our forefathers framed for us in our Bill of Rights.

We hold with all the passion of our hearts and minds to those commitments of the human spirit.

We are solemnly determined that no power or combination of powers of this earth shall shake our hold upon them.

We covenant with each other before all the world, that having taken up arms in the defense of liberty, we will not lay them down before liberty is once again secure in the world we live in. For that security we pray; for that security we act -- now and evermore.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
TO MEMBERS OF  
THE INDUSTRY LABOR CONFERENCE  
11.15 A.M. -- December 17, 1941

THE PRESIDENT: I am sorry to be twenty minutes late, but I have the kind of a schedule these days that sometimes it is impossible to be strictly on time, because news just keeps coming in, in regard to actual physical action in some part of the world in which we are concerned.

I think, in asking you to come here to this conference, that we should all -- everyone of us -- realize the -- not merely the serious purpose before us, but also the serious problem before us.

Two weeks ago, I suppose the average American felt either that we wouldn't get into the war, or that if we did, that we would mop up, if it were a war in the Pacific, in very short order. There were rather derogatory remarks that were leveled all through this country against any danger from Japan. Of course, we have begun to realize it now, and we will realize it more deeply as time goes on.

There is very real danger to the whole world, because the -- there is a new philosophy in the world which would end for all time -- if it is swept into this country, and even if it is swept all over the rest of the world -- it would mean an end of private industry, and it would mean the end of trade unionism equally. It is a real danger. We haven't won the war by a long shot. It is going to go on for a long time.

And so I have asked you here to help win this war, just as much as if you were in uniform.

I am going to use a word which none of us like, and I don't either. The word "must." I am applying the word "must" to you as an individual, and



to myself.

A boy, the other day, was out in a plane. The Government did not tell him he had to dive on a battleship and lose his life. That was his "must"; his own personal word. There was nothing in his orders that told him he had to dive his plane onto a Japanese battleship. That was young Kelly's own personal "must."

And each one of you, and I, we have got our personal "must."

So, when I use the word "must," I want you to appropriate it to yourselves, individually -- as Americans.

We are here as a group -- industry and labor, with a chairman from an Executive branch of the Government, and a vice chairman from the Legislative branch of the Government -- to act. I dug it up -- I dug up the name sometime ago, because I have used it once or twice before, from one of the churches -- the word "moderator." It's a darn good word. These two gentlemen are Moderators. I don't think they will have to wield any "big stick." I think that they can truly act as exceedingly peaceful Moderators in presiding at your meetings.

I know that if I were a Moderator I would want a result. Of course, complete agreement. I would want something else, and as Moderator I might help get it. I want speed.

Now speed is of the essence, just as much in turning out things in plants as it is among fighting forces. It is just as necessary to turn out equipment as it is to drill an Army, or build up a Navy, after the equipment is turned out. Speed is very, very much of the essence.

With speed goes something we all know that we have got to have in the next -- well, beginning very, very soon -- next few weeks. We have got greatly to increase our production program. We are still in a sense --

whether you like it or not -- the arsenal of the free world. For various reasons. Geographically we can turn out materials without anything like the same physical danger to the workers, and to the plants, as there is in Britain, or China, or Russia. We have got to do perfectly unheard of things.

I always like a little story that one of my people who came back from Russia told me the other day. When they started -- I got thinking what would we say -- what would management, and what would labor say if we did that here? I think we would be all right.

When the Germans were approaching not one city but many cities, with industrial plants that were turning out fighting munitions, the Russians, realizing that they probably would lose the city, began to move factories. And how did they move them? They ran a freight train -- backed it into the factory, and they would load the tools into the freight cars. And with every tool -- into the same freight car -- went the man who was operating that tool. With, of course, the simple objective -- when they got six hundred or a thousand miles -- to re-establish the factory, and they would have the people with the tools, without having to put new people -- untrained people -- onto those tools.

And I wonder just a little bit what the average American would do if the Government backed a freight train in and said to every worker: "Five minutes notice. You can't say good-bye to your family. Get into that freight car with the tool that you are working on. There is a suit-case -- a hamper with food in it. There are a couple of bottles of water. We will let you out when you get a thousand miles back inland." And lock him in.

Now that is what war means. I pray that we won't have anything

actually happening like that over here. But speed, and more speed is essential. And that is why any kind of a stoppage of work, anywhere, even if it seems to be something the average manager of the plant, or the average worker in the plant does not deem to be particularly important to winning this war, it may be far more important.

And so I think we have to feel that we are all of us subject to a self-imposed discipline. In other words, I think you have -- again as individuals you must -- I am not telling you that in the sense of an Executive Order, or as President, I am telling you as an American citizen -- you individually must reach an agreement.

Now, to go back for a minute, if I were Moderator, I think I would impose a time limit on speeches. I think you know just what I mean. Well, for example, we have one branch of the Government -- the Senate. It is only in a very great emergency that the Senate imposes on itself, without any rule, a limitation on speeches. They do it voluntarily. You might say by common consent. And in time of great emergency, oratory in the Senate is at a minimum. On the other side of the Capitol is the House. It is a very large body -- four hundred and something people in it. Pretty hard to limit that kind of a debate without a rule. So they have a rule. And when a bill comes out from a Committee, and they adopt the rule, they allot so much time to each side. The result is that on tremendously serious measures -- laws -- the debate is limited to two days, or three days, in that very, very large body.

Now, of course, this meeting -- you are a lot smaller than the Senate, and I believe that you can make even better time than the Senate of the United States under emergency conditions. And I hope very much, and I'll tell you why -- it isn't just me -- Hell, no -- it's the country. The



country is expecting something out of you in a hurry.

I don't want to say by tomorrow night, but it will be a thrilling thing if we could get something out in the way of a unanimous agreement tomorrow night, Thursday night, or by Friday night. Incidentally you would have a chance to go home and do your regular work a lot quicker than if you wait around and talk. I see no reason why in this instance you shouldn't adopt the Congressional custom and ask "leave to print," and in five minutes you could say what you want to say. Ask of your fellow members for "leave to print." (laughter)

Now actually, as we know, we are all after the same thing. I think that even if there hadn't been a war with three very large nations -- Germany, Japan, Italy -- I am inclined to think that the differences on both sides were, in this world of ours, relatively small. We have been making very definite progress on the whole subject of labor and management. We are going to continue to make progress, of course. I think every sensible person on both sides -- labor and management, and in Government -- realizes that, let us say, eight or nine years ago we were rather far behind in this country, that we needed -- everybody admitted it -- a greater spread in the earnings of the country, that we needed better working conditions, that England was ahead of us, and the Scandinavian countries were ahead of us.

Well, we have made a lot of progress, and at the end of this very great world war -- because it truly is that -- well, we are not going to stop. All our kind of nations are going to make more progress, and I don't want to lift something up and make it a fetish -- some one thing. Let us agree not to go backwards -- that is deadweight -- but let us agree that during this war we won't get things held up.

Now that is the primary thing, to keep the work going.

I don't believe you are going to have great difficulties, because I don't think it is a hard agreement to make. You are going to be faced with one fact, and that is an enormous number of additional people are going to be at work on this war program. I can't tell you the details, because I won't have them until the third of January, in my Message to Congress. But we can look for the employment during the coming year 1942 of a very -- of millions -- a great many million new workers in defense. We have got to protect them. But we have got to keep the thing going. We can't have stoppages of work.

And so I was just thinking about this -- going back to the old idea of self-discipline is an old -- somebody called my attention to it -- an old Chinese proverb of a Chinese Christian, who prayed every day -- he had been told to pray to our kind of a God -- and his prayer was: "Lord, reform Thy world, beginning with me." And it is rather a nice line to keep in the back of our heads.

There isn't much difference between labor and management actually. I suppose a very large proportion of management has come, in this country, from the ranks of labor. We know very much -- it's like the old Kipling saying about "Judy O'Grady and the captain's lady." They are both the same under the skin. Well now, that is true in this country, especially in this country, and we want to keep it so. And keeping it so, and improving it -- this is the -- this is the problem at this time.

Don't believe everything you read in the papers. They have to print things, they have to keep an interest going. I was reading a paper this morning which was talking about how inevitable -- just plain inevitable -- because we are a bigger nation and we have got more resources and probably better abilities, that just because of our size -- why -- victory

would be inevitable.

Well, the President of the United States doesn't say victory is inevitable. I want to see what we can do. We have only been in this thing for a week and a half. I do think it is serious at the present time. As you know, we are not sitting on "Easy Street." Out there in the Pacific we have got a long, long distance to go to hit the other fellow back. We are taking it on the chin, and we can't -- we can't fight unless we can get within range of the other fellow. We can't -- we can't fight without causing a great deal of destruction to him. Otherwise he will cause destruction to us. That is war.

And I hope very much, in fact I am very confident that you will realize the -- I might call it the spiritual side of this. We want our type of civilization to go on. And very definitely it is threatened. We want certain freedoms. We want freedom to express our own opinions. We want freedom of religion. Those are threatened. And I think very much the country is looking to you gentlemen to give us, just as fast as you possibly can -- tomorrow -- the next day -- some kind of an agreement with which we will all shake hands with each other. And then after this war is won, let's go back, if we want to, if we have to -- back to the old Kilkenny. And you know what a Kilkenny fight was. That is something that we can put aside until that date comes. We may all be dead. I hope not.

And so I think that the country is looking at you. I am looking at you. The Congress is looking at you. And all I can say is God speed your efforts to shake hands all around the table and tell the country you have done it.

Thanks.

MADAM SECRETARY PERKINS: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: I will be sitting right here. (laughter) It's all right.



Informal remarks of the President delivered extemporaneously to members of the Industry Labor Conference received by him this forenoon.

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THE PRESIDENT: I am sorry to be 20 minutes late, but I have the kind of a schedule these days that makes it sometimes impossible for me to be strictly on time.

In asking you to come here to this conference, I think we should all -- everyone of us -- realize not only the serious purpose before us, but the serious problem as well.

Two weeks ago, I suppose the average American felt either that we wouldn't get into the war, or that if we did, we would mop up, if it came to war in the Pacific, in very short order. Rather derogatory remarks were leveled all through this country against any danger from Japan. Of course, as we have begun to realize now and realize more deeply as time goes on, there is very real danger to the whole world, because there is a new philosophy in the world which would end for all time -- if it is swept into this country, even if it is swept over the rest of the world -- it would mean an end of private industry, and it would mean the end of trade unionism equally. It is a real danger. We haven't won the war by a long shot. It is going to go on for a long time.

And so I have asked you here to help win this war, just as much as if you were in uniform. I am going to use a word which none of us like -- and I don't either. The word is "must". I am applying the word "must" to you as individuals, and to myself.

A boy, the other day, was out in a plane. The Government did not tell him he had to dive on a battleship and lose his life. That was his "must"; his own personal "must". There was nothing in his orders that told him he had to dive his plane into a Japanese battleship. That was young Kelly's own personal "must".

And each one of you, and I too, we have our personal "musts".

So, when I use the word "must", I want you to appropriate it to yourselves, individually -- as Americans.

We are here as a group -- industry and labor -- with a chairman chosen from the Executive branch of the Government, and a vice chairman from the Legislative branch of the Government, to act. I dug up the word "moderator". It's a good word. These two gentlemen are moderators. I don't think they will have to wield any big stick. I think rather they can truly act as exceedingly peaceful Moderators in presiding at your meetings.

I know, if I were a moderator, I would want results -- a complete agreement. I would want something else and as moderator, I might help get it. I want speed. Speed now is of the essence, just as much in turning out things in plants as it is among the fighting forces. It is just as necessary to turn out equipment as it is to drill an army, or build up a Navy, after the equipment is turned out. Speed is very, very much of the essence.

With speed goes something we all know that we have got to have in the next few weeks. We have got greatly to increase our production program. We are still in a sense -- whether you like it or not -- the arsenal of the free world. Geographically we can turn out materials without anything like the same physical danger to the workers and to the plants as prevail in Britain, or in China, or Russia. We have got to do perfectly unheard of things.

I always like a little story that one of my people who came back from Russia told me the other day. When the Germans were approaching not one city, but many cities where industrial plants were turning out fighting munitions, the Russians realizing that they probably would lose the city or cities, began to move their factories. And how did they move them? They ran a

freight train — backed it into the factory, and they loaded the tools into the freight cars. And with every tool—into the same freight car—went the man who was operating that tool. Their simple objective, when they moved 600 or a thousand miles away was to re-establish the factory. They would have the people, the workers with their tools. They did not have to put new people — untrained people — onto these tools.

And I wonder just a little bit what the average American would do if our Government backed a freight train in and said to every worker: "Five minutes notice. You can't say good-bye to your family. Get into that freight car with the tools you are working with. There is your suit-case — a hamper of food, a couple bottles of water. We will let you out when you get a thousand miles or so inland".

That is what war means. I pray that we won't have anything actually happening like that over here. But speed, and more speed, is essential. And that is why any kind of a stoppage of work, anywhere — even if it seems to be something the average manager of the plant, or the average worker in the plant does not deem to be particularly important to winning this war — may be most important.

We have to feel that we, all of us, are subject to a self-imposed discipline. In other words, I think you have — and I am not telling you in the sense of an Executive Order, or as President — but as an American citizen — that you must reach an agreement.

To go back for a minute, if I were moderator, I think I would impose a time limit on speeches. I think you know just what I mean. For example, there is one branch of the Government — the Senate. It is only in a very great emergency that the Senate imposes on itself, without any rule, a limitation on speeches. The Senators do it voluntarily, by common consent. And, in times of great emergency, oratory in the Senate is at a minimum. On the other side of the Capitol is the House of Representatives. It is a very large body and it is pretty hard to limit debate without a rule. So there is a rule. And when a bill comes out from a Committee the rule adopted allots so much time to each side. The result is that on tremendously serious measures — laws — the debate is limited to two days, or three days or less in that very, very large body.

You are a lot smaller in numbers than the Senate and, I believe, you can make even better time than the Senate of the United States under emergency conditions. The country is expecting something out of you in a hurry — I don't say by tomorrow night — but it will be a thrilling thing if we could get something out in the way of a unanimous agreement by tomorrow night, Thursday, or at the latest Friday night. I see no reason why, in this instance, you shouldn't adopt the Congressional custom and ask "leave to print". In five minutes you could say all you want to say. Ask your fellow members for "leave to print".



Actually, as we know, we are all after the same thing. I think that even if there hadn't been a war with three very large nations -- Germany, Japan, Italy -- the differences on both sides, in this country of ours, are relatively small. We have been making very definite progress on the whole subject of labor and management. We are going to continue to make progress. I believe every sensible person on both sides -- labor and management, and in Government -- realizes that, eight or nine years ago we were rather far behind in this country; that we needed a greater spread in the earnings of the country, that we needed better working conditions. England was ahead of us. The Scandinavian countries were ahead of us. We have made a lot of progress, and at the end of this very great world war, because it truly is that, we are not going to stop progress. Our kind of nation is going to make more progress. Let us agree not to go backwards. But let us agree that, during this war, we won't hold things up.

That is the primary thing -- to keep the work going. I don't believe you are going to have great difficulties, because I don't think it is a hard agreement for you to make. You are going to be faced with one fact -- an enormous number of additional people are going to be at work on this war program. I can't tell you the details, but we can look for the employment during the coming year of 1942 of millions of new workers in defense. We have got to protect them. We have got to keep things going. We can't have stoppages.

And so I was just thinking of an old idea of self-discipline -- an old Chinese proverb -- of a Chinese Christian. He prayed every day -- he had been told to pray to our kind of a God -- and his prayer was: "Lord, reform Thy world, beginning with me." It is rather a nice line for us all to keep in the back of our heads.

There isn't much difference between labor and management actually. I suppose a very large proportion of management has come, in this country, from the ranks of labor. It's like the old Kipling saying about "Judy O'Grady an' the Colonel's Lady." They are both the same under the skin. That is true in this country, especially in this country, and we want to keep it so. And keeping it so, and improving it, is the problem at this time.

Don't believe everything you read in the papers. They have to print things, they have to keep an interest going. I was reading a paper this morning which was telling how inevitable -- because we are a bigger nation and have more resources and probably better abilities -- victory would be.

I want to see what we can do. We have only been in this war for a week and a half. It is serious, at the present time. We are not sitting on "Easy Street."

I hope very much, in fact I am very confident, you will realize the spiritual side of this war emergency. We want our type of civilization to go on. It is threatened. We want our freedoms. We want freedom to express our own opinions. We want freedom of religion and the others as well. They are threatened.

I think very much the country is looking to you gentlemen to give us, just as fast as you possibly can -- by tomorrow or the next day -- some kind of an agreement so that we all can shake hands. After this war is won, let's go back if we want to, if we have to, to old Kilkenny. And you know what a Kilkenny fight is. But that is something that we can put aside until that date comes.

The country is looking to you. I am looking at you. The Congress is looking at you. All I can say is God speed your efforts.



HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

December 24, 1941

CAUTION: The Prime Minister has prepared the following for delivery this afternoon upon the occasion of the lighting of the National Community Christmas Tree at the White House.

NOTE: Release is for editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 5:10 P. M., E. S. T. today.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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I have the honour to add an appendix to the message of Christmas goodwill and kindness with which my illustrious friend the President has encircled the homes and families of the United States by the message of Christmas eve which he has just delivered.

I spend this anniversary and festival far from my country, far from my family, and yet I cannot truthfully say that I feel far from home. Whether it be the ties of blood on my mother's side, or the friendships I have developed here over many years of active life, or the commanding sentiment of comradeship in the common cause of great races who speak the same language and to a very large extent worship the same altars and pursue the same ideals. Whichever it may be - or all of them together - I cannot feel myself a stranger here in the centre of the summit of these United States. I feel a sense of unity and fraternal association which, through all your kindness convinces me that I have a right to sit at your fireside and share your Christmas joys.

This is a strange Christmas Eve. Almost the whole world is locked in deadly struggle. Armed with the most terrible weapons which science can devise, the nations advance upon each other. Ill would it be for us this Christmastide if we were not sure that no greed for the lands or wealth of any other people has led us to the field. That no vulgar ambition, no sordid lust for material gain at the expense of others had led us to the field. Here in the midst of war, raging and roaring about us over all the lands and seas, creeping nearer to our hearts and homes. Here amidst all these tumults, we have the peace of the spirit in each cottage home and in every heart.

Therefore we may cast aside, for this night at least, the cares and dangers which beset us; and make the children happy in a world of storm. Here then, for one night only, each home throughout the English-speaking world should be a brightly lighted island of happiness and peace. Let the children have their night of fun and laughter; let the gifts of Father Christmas delight their thoughts; let us share to the full in their unstinted pleasure, before we turn again to the stern tasks in the year that lies before us. But now, by our sacrifice and daring, these same children shall not be robbed of their inheritance, or denied the right to live in a free and decent world.

And so, in God's mercy, a Happy Christmas to you all.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 60th  
BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY  
January 30, 1942  
Approx. 11.20 P.M.

To all of you who are making tonight's celebrations such a success, I want to say -- very simply -- thank you.

In the midst of world tragedy -- in the midst of sorrow, suffering, and destruction and death -- it is natural for most of us to say even on a birthday or a feast day: "Isn't the word 'happy' a bit out of place just now"?

That was perhaps my own predominant thought this morning. Yet the day itself and the evening have brought with them a great reassurance (which) that comes from the deep knowledge that most of this world is still ruled by the spirit of Faith, and Hope, and Charity.

Even in time of war those nations, which still hold to the old ideals of Christianity and democracy, are carrying on services to humanity which have little or no relationship to torpedoes or guns or bombs. That means very definitely that we have an abiding faith in the future -- a definite expectancy that we are going to win through to a peace (which) that will bring with it continuing progress and substantial success in our efforts for the security and not for the destruction of humanity.

Our enemies must at this moment be wondering -- if they are permitted to know what goes on -- how we are finding the time during the grim business of war to work for the cause of little children. For, under the enemies' kind of government, there is no time (for or) -- there is no interest in such things -- no time for ideals; no time for decency; no interest in the weak and the afflicted to whom we in this country have

dedicated this day.

(It would not be strictly true to say that our enemies pay no attention to health or the relief of need. But the difference is this: with them it all comes from the top. It is done only on order from the Ruler. It is carried out by uniformed servants of the Ruler. It is based, in great part, on direction, compulsion and fear. And the Rulers are concerned not with human beings as human beings but as mere slaves of the state -- or as cannon fodder.)

The United Nations of the world, of whom we are part, continue (however) to put these things on a very different basis. We support our tasks of humanity in time of war, as in time of peace, through the same old system of telling the public of the great need, and asking for the voluntary help of men, women and children to fill it.

The fight against the disease of infantile paralysis has proven beyond doubt that the way democracy works -- the voluntary way -- is efficient and is successful. (It is only ten years ago that this country undertook, through wholly private contributions, to organize every locality to carry on this great effort, not for a year or two, but for all the future years -- so long as the fight can help humanity.)

Today, as in these many years past, we continue this great crusade -- made possible not by a few large gifts but by the dimes and the dollars of the people themselves.

This year there is only one difference proposed for the use of these gifts, a difference that I think you will all approve of. The Trustees of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis have told me that I can make the special announcement that the authorized County Chapters throughout the Union may use such portion of their share of this year's funds



as is necessary to give special assistance to the children of any of our soldiers and sailors and marines -- their children who may fall victim to infantile paralysis. That, I hope, will be good news and a well-deserved boon to the fathers who are serving their Flag on land and on sea in many parts of the world, and good news to the mothers who have been left at home to do their brave part -- to carry on.

And I am made additionally happy by the fact that in many of our Sister Republics of the Americas, in many parts of the great continent of which we are a part, parties and celebrations are being held today to provide needed help to the children in those lands.

For all these reasons I am very sure that this day has not been wasted -- that it has been a useful day. For all that you have done, I am very grateful.

For we have all been helpful in lifting some of the clouds of unhappiness and anxiety (which have) that had settled down on many of our (citizens) people. In that realization I am sure we shall have added strength to face the days of trial (which) that lie ahead until peace with victory is assured.

The lives of all of us are now dedicated to working and fighting, and, if need be, dying for the cause of a better future -- (the) that future that will belong(s) to (our) the little children of our beloved land.

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PRESENTATION OF A SPECIAL GOLD MEDAL  
TO THE PRESIDENT  
IN COMMEMORATION OF HIS 60th BIRTHDAY  
AND IN TRIBUTE TO HIS USE  
OF WIRELESS COMMUNICATION TO THE GREATEST ADVANTAGE  
IN PEACE AND IN WAR  
February 12, 1942 -- at 4.00 p.m.

The following Honorary Members of the Veterans Wireless Operators Association were introduced to the President by the Hon. James Lawrence Fly (Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission):

Admiral Leigh Noyes  
Major General Dawson Olmstead  
Commander E. M. Webster  
Wm. D. Terrell  
George W. Bailey  
Neville Miller  
E. H. Rietzke  
F. P. Guthrie

MR. FLY: Mr. President, all these gentlemen before you -- all of us, I am happy to say, are Honorary Members of the Veterans Wireless Operators Association, claiming this pleasure of presenting to you this Gold Medal of Honor on behalf of the Veterans Wireless Operators Association.

It is tendered in recognition of your outstanding contribution to the advancement of the wireless art, by your use thereof in peace and in wartime. As Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the last War, you came to know the importance of communications at sea and on land. You then worked mightily in the interest of wireless communications. As President, and as Commander-in-Chief of all of our armed forces you have put wireless to the highest possible uses.

We extend to you personally, Mr. President, our sincere good wishes for the coming days, and we extend to you as our Commander-in-Chief our unqualified pledge of complete and loyal cooperation in the victory effort which lies ahead.

In witness whereof we now claim this great honor of presenting this Special Gold Medal of Honor of the Veterans Wireless Operators Association.

THE PRESIDENT: That is perfectly fine.

MR. FLY: This, sir, is neither tin nor rubber -- (laughter) but it is pure gold. (handing it to the President)

THE PRESIDENT: It can still be acquired at Fort Knox.

A MEMBER: Look on the other side, sir, please.

THE PRESIDENT: That is awfully nice.

A MEMBER: On the reverse -- that is right.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I am awfully glad to have that.

MR. FLY: I think nothing has ever been presented to you with a greater feeling of sincerity.

THE PRESIDENT: It's before you were born, of course. (laughter) But we old people went through certain things in the old days. You remember the day at Bar Harbor, when I started the first receiving station with one (Alessandro) Fabbri?

A MEMBER: Yes. Absolutely.

A MEMBER: We are very mindful of that.

A MEMBER: It was the first one.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right, it was.

Of course, one of the funniest things was all arranged in the Navy Department. Mr. Daniels was away, and President Wilson was coming back home on the George Washington. And it was all arranged that we were to have the first ship-to-shore telephone conversation. And he waited on board the George Washington, about 500 miles out -- went there to have this conversation. And they did not get the connection very quickly, and I heard a voice that



sounded a little like his, but it did not go through clear. And then he was very impatient. He said, "I can't wait. I can't wait," and went away.

So I talked to whoever his Aide was, instead of to Wilson himself, but we never told anybody. We gave out the press release next morning that I had talked to the President 500 miles offshore.

A MEMBER: We have that in our Year Book.

A MEMBER: Yes, actually.

THE PRESIDENT: I talked to his Aide, because he wouldn't sit there long enough to get a connection.

I wish somebody would write up all these things. You know a lot about what went on.

There came up after the War was over, the question of what the Navy was going to do with all these radio stations we had taken over. And, incidentally, we had title to them -- some of them French and some German, etcetera. And down comes Owen D. Young and makes a proposal for an American Marconi Company. And we made a little inquiry into what this company was, and we found that about 50% of it was going to be owned by the British Marconi Company.

MR. FLY: Right. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: And furthermore, that they were going to divide up the world, and they were going to let us have, very generously, a 51% interest in North, Central and South America. But that was about all. (laughter) And we turned that down. We told them they had to have an American company with American capital, and then eventually the R.C.A. was worked out. But it was because we were pretty careful in those days.

MR. FLY: Still have that same purpose, Mr. President. As you know, we are now trying to get direct communications to the British Empire.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right.

MR. FLY: Under the organization now everything goes through London, causing transmission delays in Sydney, Cairo, and so forth. We are making some progress, but we may need help.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. And then of course, one of the other funny episodes over there, during the War, I saw going up that great big -- what was it? -- eight-tower station near Bordeaux -- what was the name of the place?

A MEMBER: The Lafayette station?

THE PRESIDENT: The Lafayette station. At the end of the War, I was back there demobilizing. I spent six weeks in Paris trying to sell it to the French. I said, "It cost us 4 million dollars. I will let you have it for three." No, they didn't want it at all. Just didn't want to have it. I said, "All right. I will let you have it for two." "No, don't want it at all."

So then I cooked up a telegram back to Washington to Daniels, and said, "Send a ship over here to take it home. I will dismantle the whole works." And I sent a copy of it to Tardieu. And he said, "You can't do that." I said, "We are going to do it -- will take about 2 weeks to send it home." And finally he came across and he agreed to buy it for one million dollars. That was something. I said, "Now I will do it on condition that this is a straight deal between your department and the Navy Department, and we will get paid right away. This is not to go into the general reparations stuff." And he agreed, and signed the thing on that basis. We were to get paid.

I had no sooner gotten home in March, 1919, and the same Tardieu turned right around in violation of the agreement and put it into the common

pot. And of course we never got one franc out of the common pot for the purchase of the things. That is one of the things we had to face in those days.

MR. FLY: Still they seem relatively minor, don't they, now?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, that's right.

MR. FLY: Mr. President, thank you so much.

MEMBERS: Thank you ever so much.

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(Not given to Press)



The following recorded address by the President, requested by the Canadian Minister for broadcast in Canada on Sunday evening, February 15, 1942, is for release in the regular editions of newspapers of Monday morning, February sixteen.

This speech must be HELD IN CONFIDENCE and not broadcast in the United States before the radio program takes place in Ottawa.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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I am speaking to my neighbors of Canada this evening -- in regard to something that is a Canadian matter -- only because of a personal relationship, which goes back fifty-eight long years, when my family began taking me every Summer to spend several months on a delightful island off the coast of New Brunswick. I hope that my privilege of free and intimate discourse across our border will always continue. I trust that it will always be appreciated as sincerely as I appreciate it tonight.

It is not merely as good neighbors that we speak to each other in these eventful days, but as partners in a great enterprise which concerns us equally and in which we are equally pledged to the uttermost sacrifice and effort.

In an atmosphere of peace, four years ago, I offered you the assurance that the people of this country would not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil were ever threatened by an aggressor. Your Prime Minister responded with an intimation that Canada, whose vast territories flank our entire northern border, would man that border against any attack upon us. Those mutual pledges are now being implemented. Instead of defending merely our shores and our territories we now are joined with the other free peoples of the world against an armed conspiracy to wipe out free institutions wherever they exist.

Freedom -- our freedom and yours -- is under attack on many fronts. You and we together are engaged to resist the attack on any front where our strength can best be brought to bear.

The part that Canada is playing in this fight for the liberty of man is worthy of your traditions and ours. We, your neighbors, have been profoundly impressed by reports that have come to us setting forth the magnitude and nature of your effort as well as the valiant spirit which supports it. If that effort is to be measured in dollars, then you already have paid out, in two years, more than twice as much as you spent in the whole four years of the last war.

Moreover, these reports show that one Canadian in every twenty-one of your entire population is now in the fighting forces and that one in every twenty-nine is a volunteer for service anywhere in the world. It should give us all new strength and new courage to learn that in the swift mobilization your Army has increased nearly

ten-fold, your Navy fifteen-fold, your Air Force twenty-five-fold. We rejoice to know that the Air training Plan which you commenced to organize two years ago is now the main source of reinforcements for Britain's air force and that its graduates are fighting on almost every front in the world. Other reports disclose in equally impressive terms an all-out effort which Canada is making in the common cause of liberty.

Yours are the achievements of a great nation. They require no praise from me -- but they get that praise from me nevertheless. I understate the case when I say that we, in this country, contemplating what you have done, and the spirit in which you have done it, are proud to be your neighbors.

From the outset you have had our friendship and understanding, and our collaboration on an increasing scale. We have gone forward together with increasing understanding and mutual sympathy and good will.

More recent events have brought us into even closer alignment; and at Washington a few weeks ago, with the assistance of Britain's Prime Minister and your own, we arrived at understandings which mean that the United Nations will fight and work and endure together until our common purpose is accomplished and the sun shines down once more upon a world where the weak will be safe and the strong will be just.

There is peril ahead for us all, and sorrow for many. But our cause is right, our goal is worthy, our strength is great and growing. Let us then march forward together, facing danger, bearing sacrifice, competing only in the effort to share even more fully in the great task laid upon us all. Let us, remembering the price that some have paid for our survival, make our own contribution worthy to lie beside theirs upon the altar of man's faith.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
BROADCAST OVER A  
NATIONWIDE AND WORLDWIDE RADIO HOOKUP  
ON THE OCCASION  
OF THE  
210TH ANNIVERSARY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY  
FEBRUARY 23, 1942  
AT 10.00 P.M., E.W.T.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

For eight years, General Washington and his Continental Army were faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the thirteen states there existed fifth columnists -- and selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, and that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since -- a model of moral stamina. He held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure, without freedom and free institutions.

The present great struggle has taught us increasingly that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon the security of the rights and obligations of liberty and justice everywhere in the world.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every



sea, every air-lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you (the) a map of the whole earth, and to follow with me in the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war. Many questions will, I fear, remain unanswered tonight; but I know you will realize that I cannot cover everything in any one short report to the people.

The broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

We fight at these vast distances because that is where our enemies are. Until our flow of supplies gives us clear superiority we must keep on striking our enemies wherever and whenever we can meet them, even if, for a while, we have to yield ground. Actually, though, we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every day that goes by.

We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies -- protect these lines from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut them. The object of the Nazis and the Japanese is to of course separate the United States, Britain, China and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer".

There are those who still think, however, in terms of the days of sailing-ships. They advise us to pull our warships and our planes and

our merchant ships into our own home waters and concentrate solely on last ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the (British Isles) Islands of Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East and the Continent of Africa, with their (re) sources of raw materials -- their resources of raw materials, and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look too at North America, Central America and South America.

It is obvious what would happen if all of these great reservoirs of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-imposed isolation:

(1.) First, in such a case, we could no longer send aid of any kind to China -- to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers, and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-offensive -- for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

(2.) Secondly, if we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand and the Dutch Indies, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan in such a case could (then) release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere -- South America and Central America, and North America -- including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests (to) in the other direction toward India,

(and) through the Indian Ocean, to Africa, (and) to the Near East, and try to join forces with Germany and Italy.

(3.) Third, if we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean area, (and) in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, (areas) we would be helping the Nazis to overrun Turkey, and Syria, and Iraq, and Persia--that is now called Iran -- Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa itself and with that inevitably the whole coast of West Africa -- putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America -- fifteen hundred miles away.

(4.) Fourth, if by such a fatuous policy, we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid counter-offensive by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food-supplies and munitions.

Those Americans who believed that we could live under the illusion of isolationism wanted the American eagle to imitate the tactics of the ostrich. Now, many of those same people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is -- flying high and striking hard.

I know (that) I speak for the mass of the American people when I say that we reject the turtle policy and will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters -- as far away as possible from our own home grounds.

There are four main lines of communication now being travelled by our ships: the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets -- for the ships (which) that carry our troops and munitions out-bound bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.



The maintenance of these vital lines is a very tough job. It is a job which requires tremendous daring, tremendous resourcefulness, and, above all, tremendous production of planes and tanks and guns and also of the ships to carry them. And I speak again for the American people when I say that we can and will do that job.

The defense of the world-wide lines of communication demands -- compel relatively safe use by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control by the United Nations of (the) many strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes -- first, the long-range heavy bomber; and, second, the light bombers, the dive bombers, the torpedo planes, (and) the short-range pursuit planes, all of which are essential to (the) cooperate with and protect(ion) (of) the bases and (of) the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific, either way; but the smaller planes cannot. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be packed in crates and sent on board cargo ships. Look at your map again; and you will see that the route is long -- and at many places perilous -- either across the South Atlantic all the way (a)round South Africa and the Cape of Good Hope, or from California to the East Indies direct. A vessel can make a round trip by either route in about four months, or only three round trips in a whole year.

In spite of the length, (and) in spite of the difficulties of this transportation, I can tell you that in two and a half months we already have a large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots and crews, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the Southwest Pacific. And thousands of American troops are today in that area

engaged in operations not only in the air but on the ground as well.

In this battle area, Japan has had an obvious initial advantage. For she could fly even her short-range planes to the points of attack by using many stepping stones open to her -- bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China coast, Indo-China coast, and in Thailand and Malaya (coasts). Japanese troop transports could go south from Japan and from China through the narrow China Sea which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japanese power. On the west, the China side, the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indo-China which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the North, are the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east, are the Mandated Islands -- which Japan had occupied exclusively, and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

The islands that lie between Hawaii and the Philippines -- these islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps, but do not appear at all. But they cover a large strategic area. Guam lies in the middle of them -- a lone outpost which we have never fortified.

Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we had solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippines (Islands). We had no safe naval bases there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations.

Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the Philippines to numerous points south of them --

thereby completely encircling the (Islands) Philippines from north, and south, and east and west.

It is that complete encirclement, with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft, which has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines. For forty years it has always been our strategy -- a strategy born of necessity -- that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we should fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor.

We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. We knew all along that, with our greater resources, we could ultimately outbuild Japan and (ultimately) overwhelm her on sea, and on land and in the air. We knew that, to obtain our objective, many varieties of operations would be necessary in areas other than the Philippines.

Now nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy of necessity -- except that the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates of endurance; and he and his men are gaining eternal glory therefor.

MacArthur's army of Filipinos and Americans, and the forces of the United Nations in China, in Burma and the Netherlands East Indies, are all together fulfilling the same essential task. They are making Japan pay an increasingly terrible price for her ambitious attempts to seize control of the whole (Atlantic) Asiatic world. Every Japanese transport sunk off Java is one less transport that they can use to carry reinforcements to their army opposing General MacArthur in Luzon.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were



made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made your map will show that it would have been a hopeless operation for us to send the Fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean, while all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor -- serious as they were -- have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. And these exaggerations come originally from Axis propagandists; but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life.

You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who, since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced "off the record" that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet -- that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December 7th -- that more than (1,000) a thousand of our planes were destroyed on the ground. They have suggested slyly that the Government has withheld the truth about casualties -- that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor instead of the figures as officially announced. They have even served the enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story that shiploads of bodies of our honored American dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put into a common grave.

Almost every Axis broadcast -- Berlin, Rome, Tokyo -- directly quotes Americans who, by speech or in the press, make damnable misstatements such as these.

The American people realize that in many cases details of military operations cannot be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give to the enemy military information which he does not already possess.

Your Government has unmistakeable confidence in your ability to hear the worst, without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your Government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people; but there must also always be a full use of discretion -- and that word "discretion" applies to the critics of government as well.

This is war. The American people want to know, and will be told, the general trend of how the war is going. But they do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do; and they will pay little attention to the rumor-mongers and the poison peddlers in our midst.

To pass from the realm of rumor and poison to the field of facts: the number of our officers and men killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor on December seventh was 2,340, and the number wounded was 946. Of all of the combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor -- battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines -- only three (were) are permanently put out of commission.

Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. Some of those that were there were hit very slightly; and others that were damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. And when those repairs are completed, the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.

The report that we lost more than a thousand (air)planes at Pearl Harbor is as baseless as the other weird rumors. The Japanese do not know just how many planes they destroyed that day, and I am not going to tell them. But I can say that to date -- and including Pearl Harbor -- we have destroyed considerably more Japanese planes than they have destroyed of ours.

We have most certainly suffered losses -- from Hitler's U-Boats in the Atlantic as well as from the Japanese in the Pacific -- and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But, speaking for the United States of America, let me say once and for all to the people of the world: We Americans have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We and the other United Nations are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon, we and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battles; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. And the people of Korea and of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. All of the people of Asia know that if there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of them or any of (for) us, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

If a just and durable peace is to be attained, or even if all of us are merely to save our own skins, there is one thought for us here at home to keep uppermost -- the fulfillment of our special task of production -- uninterrupted production. I stress that word "uninterrupted."

Germany, Italy and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks and ships. The United Nations are not -- especially the United States of America.

Our first job then is to build up production -- uninterrupted production -- so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air -- not merely a slight superiority, but an overwhelming superiority.

On January 6th of this year, I set certain definite goals of



production for airplanes, tanks, guns and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or to gain special advantages, one over the other.

We are calling for new plants and additions -- additions to old plants. (and) We are calling for plant conversion to war needs. We are seeking more men and more women to run them. We are working longer hours. We are coming to realize that one extra plane or extra tank or extra gun or extra ship completed tomorrow may, in a few months, turn the tide on some distant battlefield; it may make the difference between life and death for some of our own fighting men. We know now that if we lose this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again. And we can lose this war only if we slow up our effort or if we waste our ammunition sniping at each other.

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, or conciliation or arbitration -- until the war is won.
2. We shall not demand special gains or special privileges or <sup>special</sup> ad- vantages for any one group or occupation.
3. We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of our lives if our country asks us to do so. We will do it cheerfully, remembering

that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of our land.

This generation of Americans has come to realize, with a present and personal realization, that there is something larger and more important than the life of any individual or of any individual group -- something for which a man will sacrifice, and gladly sacrifice, not only his pleasures, not only his goods, not only his associations with those he loves, but his life itself. In time of crisis when the future is in the balance, we come to understand, with full recognition and devotion, what this nation is, and what we owe to it.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own allies. They say that the British are finished -- that the Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. Patriotic and sensible Americans will reject these absurdities. And instead of listening to any of this crude propaganda, they will recall some of the things that Nazis and Japanese have said and are still saying about us.

Ever since this nation became the arsenal of democracy -- ever since enactment of Lend-Lease -- there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda.

This theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich, (and) that Americans have considerable industrial power -- but that Americans are soft and decadent, that they cannot and will not unite and work and fight.

From Berlin, Rome and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings -- "playboys" -- who would hire British soldiers, or Russian soldiers, or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who today are hitting hard in the far waters of the Pacific.

Let them tell that to the boys in the Flying Fortresses.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples of equal dignity and equal importance. The United Nations are dedicated to a common cause. We share equally and with equal zeal the anguish and the awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise, we must share in a unified plan in which all of us must play our several parts, each of us being equally indispensable and dependent one on the other.

We have unified command and cooperation and comradeship.

We Americans will contribute unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can know no limitations of race or creed or selfish politics. The American people expect that much from themselves. And the American people will find ways and means of expressing their determination to their enemies, including the Japanese Admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

We of the United Nations are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world; disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms -- freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of



Nazi onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. And today all the United Nations salute the superb Russian Army as it celebrates the twenty-fourth anniversary of its first assembly.

Though their homeland was overrun, the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully overseas.

The great Chinese people have suffered grievous losses; Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence -- yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

That is the conquering spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

The task that we Americans now face will test us to the uttermost.

Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drum-head, by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army of ragged, rugged men was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted (nothing) naught but defeat.

And General Washington ordered that these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
BROADCAST FROM THE WHITE HOUSE  
IN CONNECTION WITH THE NINTH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE NATIONAL FARM PROGRAM  
MARCH 9, 1942, 9.55 P.M., E. W. T.

I want to say a word tonight to the farm families of America, and also to the families that consume farm products of every kind. That means everybody -- everywhere.

No one can think back over the last nine years without coming to the conclusion that the most significant single fact in recent American history is the ability of the American people to face a tough situation and to take orderly and united action in their own behalf and in behalf of the things in which they believe.

There has been a considerable amount of discussion lately about the alleged complacency of the American people. Newspaper editors and commentators have been telling us that the American people are complacent -- that they are apathetic.

I think I know the American people pretty well. A lot of them write to me. A lot of them send me messages of one sort or another. They talk to me pretty frankly. If there is one single thing of which I am certain, it is that the American people are not now, and have not been, complacent. On the contrary, they are keenly aware of the situation in which they find themselves, and they are whole-heartedly and entirely committed to action, nearly all of them. Now, as a decade ago, they are facing up to the job they have to do, and they propose to see to it that the job is done.

Americans are preparing with all possible speed to take their places on the actual battle fronts, and some are there now. Workers in the mills and mines are laboring long hours, under great pressure, to turn out

the weapons and equipment without which the war cannot be won. Men and women in thousands of communities are giving their time and energy in the work of civilian defense. And out in the country, farmers are straining every effort to produce the food which, like the tanks and the planes, is absolutely indispensable to victory.

The members of each of these various groups know the extent to which they themselves are responding. But they do not always know what is being done by the others. And that gives an opportunity to the enemy to get in some deadly blows. That gives an opportunity to the enemy to spread malicious words. Labor, says the evil whisper, is sabotaging the war program with strikes and slowdowns and demands for higher wages. Business, it says, is gouging the country with unconscionable profits. And the farmer, according to this treacherous voice, is using the war to grab all he can.

Now it happens that, as a result of the war program, the incomes of all three groups on the average are substantially increased. Of course there are instances where a few business men or a few workers, or a few farmers, are demanding and getting more than they ought. But, in general, the increase to the different groups has been kept fairly well in balance, and there has been only a moderate rise in the cost of living in city and in country up to now.

It seems to me that we ought to feel proud of the undoubted fact that we are getting cooperation (and) at a reasonably fair balance among 90% of our population and that if less than 10% of the population is chiseling we still have a pretty good average national record.

But if all prices keep (on) going up, we shall have inflation of a very dangerous kind -- we shall have such a steep rise in prices (and) in the cost of living that the entire nation will be hurt. That would greatly



increase the cost of the war and the national debt. It would hamper the drive for victory. (and) It would inevitably plunge everyone -- city workers and farmers alike -- into ruinous deflation later on.

I wish (someone) somebody (would) could invent a better word than "inflation." What we really mean is that even though we may not realize it at the moment, it is not a good thing for the country to upset all the old standards if the cost of living goes up through the roof and wages go up through the roof, and farm prices go up through the roof. Actually, in such a case we are no better off than we were before as individuals or heads of families, and it comes pretty close to being true that that which goes up has to come down.

This fight against inflation is not fought with bullets or with bombs, but it is equally vital. It calls for cooperation and restraint and sacrifice on the part of every group. It calls for mutual good will and a willingness to believe in the other fellow's good faith. It calls for unflagging vigilance and effective action by the Government to prevent profiteering and unfair returns, alike for services and for goods.

And so, on this ninth anniversary of the founding of the National Farm Program, we can all rededicate ourselves to the spirit with which this common effort by the farmers came to birth. Never before in our history has there been as much need for unstinting service to the country. Hard, trying, difficult days are ahead. How hard and how bitter they will be depends on how well we can keep our eyes, our thoughts, and our efforts directed toward the only thing that matters now for every one of us in the United Nations -- winning the war.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE MEMBERS OF THE  
GOVERNING BOARD OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION  
AT THE EXECUTIVE OFFICES OF THE PRESIDENT  
APRIL 14, 1942 -- AT 12.45 P.M., E.W.T.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, don't be formal -- get around here. We are not having any formalities today, because whenever I make a speech it takes me one week to prepare it, and I have no spare weeks at the present time.

But I do think that today -- I think it is a fine thing that we are celebrating Pan American Day, and I hope that we are celebrating it in every Republic, because it does -- I think it has more significance than any previous time in the history of the Hemisphere. And I think probably -- I know that some of you have got -- one or two of you have got certain problems back home. And I do think that the idea is being realized more than ever before what would happen if any part of any of the Hemisphere were dominated by a successful Germany. We wouldn't live the same kind of lives, that is the easiest way of putting it. Because that new -- not the old German civilization -- the new German civilization is so totally different from what all of us have been accustomed to since we were five years old -- since we were born. I shudder -- I hate to think of what would happen to any part of the Hemisphere that came under that kind of domination.

And so I am looking for a word, as I said to the newspapermen a little while ago, I want a name for the war. I haven't had any very good suggestions. Most of them are too long. My own thought is that perhaps there is one word that we could use for this war, the word "survival." The Survival War. That is what it comes pretty close to being -- the survival of our civilization, the survival of Democracy, the survival of a new Hemi-

sphere -- the newest Hemisphere of all of them, which has worked out for itself in ways which on the surface may be a bit different, but down at the bottom it is the same kind of civilization that has come from a love of liberty and the willingness to pioneer. So I think that survival is what we are -- what our problem is, survival of what we have all lived for for a great many generations, because now I think in all of the Republics we have, relatively speaking, quite an ancient civilization, since we have had independence, and even for a good many years before that. And that is why I hope that the continental -- the Hemispheric solidarity and unanimity is going to continue. I think that at the last Pan American Conference of the Hemisphere down at Rio, while some people felt -- well, it had not perhaps gone so far as it would like to go, we did manage to retain the objective of unanimity.

There may be other problems after the war that we will have to work out among ourselves, sitting around the table, but at the present time we have got substantial unanimity. And that is a great thorn in the flesh of Herr Hitler. He felt that the success of the Rio Conference was a very serious blow to the efforts of the Axis to dominate the world.

And so I hope that we will go on as we have in the past. One of the things that I often think about -- a few of you were here at the time -- in the summer of 1933, after I had been in here for a few months, we had a bit of trouble in the Republic of Cuba. And I asked all of the Ambassadors and Ministers of the Hemisphere to come in and sit around the table, just in an informal way. And I told them that I didn't want the United States to do anything without everybody knowing all about it, and that my thought was that it was a problem for Cuba to decide for herself. Cuba did. And all the old-fashioned newspapers in this country -- 85% of them having



always opposed me -- they said it was a terrible thing to let Cuba handle the affairs of Cuba.

Well, from that we have got a situation -- we have got today on this -- we talk things over face to face. And I think really it is a -- well, it is a distinct advance in the relationships of nations, especially nations that are so similar -- which are in their many economic and social problems akin to all of us. I think it is a distinct advance again in our type of civilization.

So I hope we will continue to have the unanimity of the past. And when it comes to cleaning up the mess at the end of this war, after the Axis is defeated, we will have again an Hemispheric council around here to see what we are going to do all over the world, because we will have a very great voice in it, to prevent in the future an attack on our American civilization.

I haven't prepared any speech, so it is just some thoughts that I think about every day -- day and night -- that we are, as I say -- we are going places. We will get somewhere. And we are going to have a couple of years, perhaps three years, before we can make sure that our type of civilization is going to survive. I am perfectly confident of it myself. We have all got to sacrifice. We have got to do the best we can. We are going to come out the winner in the long run.

It is grand to see you all, and I hope that next year we will be in an even better state than we are in 1942. It is good to see you. Good luck to you.

PRESENTATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR  
BY THE PRESIDENT TO LIEUTENANT EDWARD H. O'HARE,  
IN THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE, APRIL 21, 1942, AT  
11.00 A.M., E.W.T.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, now will you step right up here. We have two ceremonies. The first is to congratulate a new Lieutenant Commander Edward H. O'Hare. If you will notice his sleeve, he is only a Junior Lieutenant. He hasn't had time yet to get the 'fixings' that go with the rank of Lieutenant Commander.

This is an appointment by the Secretary of the Navy which I have approved. All you have to do is to tear off the lower half and return it to the Bureau of Navigation and keep the top half. (laughter)

And then the other is, I think, more important. (reading):

"The President takes pleasure in presenting the Congressional Medal of Honor to Lieutenant Edward H. O'Hare, U. S. Navy, for services as set forth in the following Citation:

"For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in aerial combat, at grave risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty, as section leader and pilot of Fighting Squadron 3, when on February 20, 1942, having lost the assistance of his team-mates, he interposed his plane between his ship and an advancing enemy formation of 9 attacking twin-engined heavy bombers. Without hesitation, alone and unaided he repeatedly attacked this enemy formation at close range in the face of their intense combined machine-gun and cannon fire, and despite this concentrated opposition, he, by his gallant and courageous action, his extremely skillful marksmanship, making the most of every shot of his limited amount of ammunition, shot down 5 enemy bombers and severely damaged the 6th before they reached the bomb release point.

"As a result of his gallant action, one of the most daring if not the most daring single action in the history of combat aviation, he undoubtedly saved his Carrier from serious damage."

And with that in one hand, then we go ahead and do the little ceremony itself -- the Congressional Medal of Honor. And if Mrs. O'Hare is more skilled with her fingers than I am, she will do it.

Put this around his neck. You may have to undo that in order to get it around his neck.

Now you put it round his neck, and I will shake hands with you (O'Hare). (laughter)

(Newsreels and stills were taken of this ceremony, with newspapermen on hand also)

THE PRESIDENT: There is the case, and there is the button. Now you are outfitted. (laughter)

I think that's fine.

(Not given to Press)



INFORMAL GREETING  
EXTENDED BY THE PRESIDENT  
FROM THE SOUTH PORTICO OF THE WHITE HOUSE,  
AT A GARDEN PARTY FOR THE  
ARMY GUARD ON DUTY AT THE WHITE HOUSE  
JUNE 12, 1942, 4.00 P.M., E.W.T.

I am very glad to welcome all of you here today, and so is Mrs. Roosevelt. We have seen some of you outside the fence, and we are glad to have you inside the fence as well.

You are a symbol, this small group, of a great many thousands of officers and men of the Army who are guarding the Nation's Capital. I think that perhaps some of you wish that you might have duty that is at least a little more exciting. I wish that I had duty a little nearer the front. And yet somebody has to do this kind of work. You and I among others.

And so I want to congratulate you on a very necessary part of the war, on doing a task with true efficiency. We may be here for a long time, but in the long run we are going to look back on this period of service as something that I think and I hope we can all feel proud of.

And so it has been good to see you. I wish I could come down and have a sandwich and a soft drink with you, but I have got to get back to work.

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HOLD FOR RELEASE

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HOLD FOR RELEASE

June 12, 1942.

*transcribed*

CAUTION: The following address of the President MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 6:45 P.M., E.W.T., today, June 12, 1942. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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I want to talk to you about rubber - about rubber and the war - about rubber and the American people.

When I say rubber I mean rubber. I don't mean gasoline. Gasoline is a serious problem only in certain sections of the country.

But rubber is a problem everywhere - from one end of the country to the other - in the Mississippi Valley as well as in the East - in the oil country as well as in the corn country or the iron country or the great industrial centers.

Rubber is a problem for this reason - because modern wars cannot be won without rubber and because 92% of our normal supply of rubber has been cut off by the Japanese.

That is serious. It would be more serious if we had not built up a stock pile of rubber before the war started: if we were not now building up a great new synthetic rubber industry. That takes time, so we have an immediate need.

Neither the stock pile, nor the synthetic plants which are now being built, nor both together, will be enough to provide for the needs of our great new Army and Navy plus our civilian requirements as they now exist.

The Armed Services have done what they can. They have eliminated rubber wherever possible. The Army, for example, has had to replace rubber treads with less efficient steel treads on many of its tanks. Army and Navy estimates of use of rubber have had to be curtailed all along the line.

But there is a limit to that.

You and I want the finest and most efficient Army and Navy the world has ever seen - an Army and Navy with the greatest and swiftest striking power. That means rubber - huge quantities of rubber - rubber for trucks and tanks and planes and gun mounts - rubber for gas masks and rubber for landing boats.

But it is not the Army and Navy alone which need rubber. The process of production also needs rubber. We need rubber to get our war workers back and forth to their plants - some of them far from workers' homes. We need rubber to keep our essential goods and supplies moving.

All this adds up to a very serious problem - a problem which is a challenge to the sound judgment of the government and to the ingenuity of the American people. It is a problem we Americans are laboring to solve - a problem we will solve.

But there is one unknown factor in this problem. We know what our stock pile is. We know what our synthetic capacity will be. But we do not know how much used rubber there is in the country - used rubber which, reclaimed and reprocessed, can be combined with our supplies of new rubber to make those supplies go farther in meeting military and civilian needs.

Specifically, we don't know how much used rubber there is in your cellar - your barn - your stock room - your garage - your attic.

There are as many opinions as there are experts, and until we know we can't make our plans for the best use of the rubber we have.

The only way to find out is to get the used rubber in where it can stand up and be counted.

And that precisely is what we propose to do.

We are setting aside the two weeks period from June 15 to June 30 - from 12:01 a.m., June 15 to 12:00 midnight, June 30 - to get the old rubber in.

We have asked the filling station operators - the thousands upon thousands of citizens who operate gas stations and garages from one end of the country to the other - to help. And they have generously and patriotically agreed to help: they and the oil companies which serve them.

They have agreed to take the old rubber in and to pay for it at the standard rate of a penny a pound - an amount which will later be refunded to them by the government.

I know that I don't need to urge you to take part in this collection drive. All you need to know is the place to take your rubber and the time to take it there - and the fact that your country needs it.

We do not want you to turn in essential rubber that you need in your daily life - rubber you will have to replace by buying new things in the store. We do want every bit of rubber you can possibly spare - and in any quantity - less than a pound - many pounds. We want it in every form - old tires, old rubber raincoats, old garden hose, rubber shoes, bathing caps, gloves - whatever you have that is made of rubber. If you think it is rubber, take it to your nearest filling station.

Once the rubber is in, we will know what our supplies of used rubber are and we will make our plans accordingly. One thing you can be sure of - we are going to see to it that there is enough rubber to build the planes to bomb Tokyo and Berlin - enough rubber to build the tanks to crush the enemy wherever we may find him - enough rubber to win this war.

Here are two simple rules for this rubber emergency.

1. Turn in all the old rubber - anywhere and everywhere.
2. Cut the use of your car - save its tires by driving slowly and driving less.

I know the nation will respond.



CEREMONIES  
ON  
UNITED FLAG DAY  
AT 2.30 P.M., E.W.T.  
JUNE 14, 1942  
HELD IN THE STATE DINING ROOM

(Representatives of the 26 nations who signed the United Nations Pact, were presented to the President, and then stood before their national flags, forming a "V" behind the President, who was seated with Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and the Mexican Ambassador Najera, and Manuel Quezon, President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, to affix their signatures to the Pact)

THE PRESIDENT: I think I might begin these historic proceedings today by mentioning the fact that the table at which we sit is the Cabinet table of President Abraham Lincoln.

Today on Flag Day we celebrate the declaration of the United Nations -- that great alliance dedicated to the defeat of our foes and to the establishment of a true peace based on the freedom of man. Today the Republic of Mexico and the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands join us. We welcome these valiant peoples to the company of those who fight for freedom.

The four freedoms of common humanity are as much elements of man's needs as air and sunlight, bread and salt. Deprive him of all these freedoms and he dies -- deprive him of a part of them and a part of him withers. Give them to him in full and abundant measure and he will cross the threshold of a new age, the greatest age of man.

These freedoms are the rights of men of every creed and every race, wherever they live. This is their heritage. We of the United Nations

have the power and the men and the will at last to assure man's heritage.

The belief in the four freedoms of common humanity -- the belief in man, created free, in the image of God -- is the crucial difference between ourselves and the enemies we face today. In it lies the absolute unity of our alliance, opposed to the oneness of the evil we hate. Here is our strength, the source and promise of victory.

We know that man, born to freedom in the image of God, will not forever suffer the oppressors' sword. The peoples of the United Nations, are taking that sword from the oppressors' hands. With it they will destroy those hands. The brazen tyrannies pass. Man marches forward toward the light.

I want to read to all of you a prayer that has been written for the United Nations on this Day:

"God of the free, we pledge our hearts and lives today to the cause of all mankind.

"Grant us victory over the tyrants who would enslave all free men and nations. Grant us faith and understanding to cherish all those who fight for freedom as if they were our brothers. Grant us brotherhood in hope and union, not only for the space of this bitter war, but for all the days to come which shall and must unite all the children of earth.

"Our earth is but a small star in the great universe. Yet of it we can make, if we choose, a planet untroubled by war, untroubled by hunger or fear, undivided by senseless distinctions of race, color or theory. Grant us that courage and foresight to begin this task today that our children and our children's children may be proud of the name of man.

"The spirit of man has awakened and the soul of man has gone forth. Grant us the wisdom and the vision to comprehend the greatness of

man's spirit, that suffers and endures so hugely for a goal beyond his own brief span. Grant us honor, honor for our dead who died in the faith, honor for our living who work and strive for the faith, redemption and security for all captive lands and peoples. Grant us patience with the deluded and pity for the betrayed. And grant us the skill and the valor that shall cleanse the world of oppression and the old base doctrine that the strong must eat the weak because they are strong.

"Yet most of all grant us brotherhood, not only for this day but for all our years -- a brotherhood not of words but of acts and deeds. We are all of us children of earth -- grant us that simple knowledge. If our brothers are oppressed, then we are oppressed. If they hunger, we hunger. If their freedom is taken away, our freedom is not secure. Grant us a common faith that man shall know bread and peace -- that he shall know justice and righteousness, freedom and security, an equal opportunity and an equal chance to do his best, not only in our own lands, but throughout the world. And in that faith let us <sup>march</sup> march, toward the clean world our hands can make. Amen."

I think it is very appropriate for all of us here to hear that Prayer, as a symbol of what that Prayer says and what this (Flag) Day means throughout all the world.

It is a great pleasure to add two nations to the Pact, which the 26 of them have already signed.

Now if the original document can be brought forward, it will be signed, first by the Ambassador from our sister Republic of Mexico, and immediately thereafter by the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

(The two signings were then accomplished, recorded by the



newsreels and stills)

May I add, there is plenty of room for more signatures later on. I will turn it over to the Secretary of State, the custodian.

Well, I think that about concludes what we have got -- a successful day. That will hold it. A good job. Thanks for coming.

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REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
AND  
HER MAJESTY WILHELMINA, QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS  
BROADCAST NATIONALLY  
AT THE WASHINGTON NAVY YARD  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE TRANSFER  
OF A SHIP  
UNDER THE LEND-LEASE ACT,  
AUGUST 6, 1942, at about 1.15 P.M., E.W.T.

The President spoke as follows:

YOUR MAJESTY:

From the earliest days of history, the people of The Netherlands -- your people -- have been willing to fight for their freedom and independence. They have won out in the face of great odds.

Once more they are fighting for that independence. Once more they will win and maintain it.

We, too, in the United States are fighting for our freedom and it is natural and right that The Netherlands and the United States have joined hands in the common struggle.

The gallant exploits of your countrymen have won the admiration of all the other peoples of the world -- first, in The Netherlands itself and later in the Netherlands' Indies where, in the face of overwhelming (numbers) odds, your sons and our sons went down fighting to the bitter end on land and sea and in the air. Their memory inspires us to redouble our efforts for the cause for which they gave their lives.

The Netherlands' Navy is today adding fresh laurels to those already won in battle from the North Sea to the Java Straits. We Americans can know no better cause than to assist your gallant Navy.

It is, therefore, as a tangible expression of our admiration for all that the Netherlands' Navy has done, and is doing, that I have the

great pleasure of turning over to you, under the provisions of the Lend-Lease Act, this ship.

Built by American workers in American yards, she will hereafter fly the brave Ensign of The Netherlands.

And she will bear the name of one who has come to stand in the eyes of the world as a symbol, a symbol of Netherlands' courage and Netherlands' determination.

For it is as the "QUEEN WILHELMINA" that she will embark upon her new career.

And so I ask Your Majesty to receive this ship as a symbol of the friendship and the admiration of the people of the United States.

The response of Her Majesty Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands, was as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:

I am very happy that the transfer of this vessel under the provisions of the lend-lease agreement takes place during my presence in Washington. This enables me to thank you personally for your gracious initiative and for your continued personal interest.

I see in this ceremony fresh evidence of the excellent spirit of friendship which ever since the days of John Paul Jones has existed between our two navies.

This admirable vessel, replete with the most modern technical devices, is a valuable addition to our naval forces.

It will operate in close (collaboration) cooperation with the United States Navy against our common enemies. The officers and crew will do all they can to live up to the friendly thought to which we owe this new unit of our Navy.



I (have) gladly accept(ed) your suggestion to give it my name.

May your love of the sea and of seamanship pervade this vessel  
and inspire those on board.

With this wish I now commission the Queen Wilhelmina.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
BROADCAST IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEDICATION  
OF THE  
NAVAL MEDICAL CENTER, BETHESDA, MARYLAND  
ON AUGUST 31, 1942,  
AT 4.30 P.M., E.W.T.

ADMIRAL McINTIRE, AND MEMBERS OF THE MEDICAL CORPS OF THE NAVY:

In this hospital (which) that we are dedicat(e)ing today in this green, peaceful Maryland countryside, our Navy battles against disease and disability and death.

Those who fight this vital battle (here) are anonymous heroes of this war -- the officers, men, and the women of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, which today celebrates its one hundredth (birthday) anniversary. They are surgeons and nurses, scientists and technicians, who are part of a service extending throughout the world. On land and sea and in (the) air, they have carried on their unending fight "to make good their promise to keep as many men at as many guns as many days as possible."

The cornerstone of this hospital was laid by me on Armistice Day, (of) 1940, less than two years ago. And since then I think we can look at it and say it's a job well done.

We were then at peace. But even then we could see the designs of our foes; we had already begun to arm on a vast scale to meet their attacks.

Less than a year later, men of our Navy were killed in action in the North Atlantic Sea. They were men of the destroyers Kearney and Reuben James, patrolling the sea lanes of the North Atlantic. These American ships were attacked by Nazi submarines -- let us remember that -- many weeks before their partners in crime, the Japanese, launched their attack on Pearl Harbor.

That day of Pearl Harbor -- December 7th, 1941 -- contained the

darkest hour in our Navy's history. Infamously attacked, seriously damaged, ships of our fleet were put out of commission, and more than three thousand of our men were killed or wounded.

In the months that followed -- months without victories -- our enemies taunted us with the question, "Where is the United States Navy?"

Today, those enemies know the beginning of the answer to that question. They learned in the Atlantic; they learned in the Coral Sea; they learned off Midway; they are learning now in their attempts to recapture that which was taken from them in the Solomon Islands.

Where is the United States Navy?

It's (is) there where it has always been. It's (is) in there fighting. It's (is) carrying out the command to hit our enemy, (and) to hit him again, wherever and whenever we can find him.

Battles cannot be fought and won without cost -- we know that -- and the cost may be heavy in ships and in men. The brave and skillful men and women of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery are dedicated to the task of reducing the cost in men, saving lives on deck, in the engine room, in the gun turrets -- alleviating suffering, restoring the wounded to their duties as fighters for the cause of freedom. In the sick-bays of all the ships of our Navy, on all the seas, they are risking their own lives that other lives may be saved.

Today, in distant places, we are fighting battles the like of which have never (before) been known before. In the Southwest Pacific, the ships and the planes of our fleet and of the Marine Corps, (and) the long-range bombers of our Army, are striking at the enemy from widely separated bases -- and they are striking together. To carry on such battles to successful conclusion, men who fight on land and in the air must work in per-



fect unison with men who fight above the sea and on the sea and under the sea.

(Such) Warfare like that requires men of extraordinary physical alertness as well as exceptional daring. A split second lost in timing by one individual may cost innumerable lives. Therefore, it's (is) not enough for the doctor to work out new methods of healing and cure. He must work out entirely new methods of preparing men for unprecedented combat conditions in submarines, and planes and tanks.

Without this work of conditioning, flesh and blood couldn't (not) possibly meet the demands of this modern war. Men must be perfectly attuned in their bodies, as they are perfectly prepared in their minds and hearts, for the fierce test of battle.

That remarkable progress has been achieved in this science -- Yes, it can be attested by those of our enemies who have faced our men in battle. But this progress in prevention and cure must not and cannot be limited to the armed forces of the United States, because of the simple fact that our whole population is involved in winning this (total) war.

For example, there are today far too many casualties among our civilian population. Why, the number of fatalities from automobile accidents alone last year was 40,000 killed. How many of (these) those deaths were preventible? The number of people injured in such accidents was almost a million and a half of Americans.

Take(in) industry. In industry last year the number of fatalities from accidents was 19,200. How many of (these) those deaths were preventible? The number of people injured in (such) industrial accidents was considerably in excess of two million, including over 100,000 people that were permanently (disabilities) disabled. Those are very startling figures, and should be remembered by every man, woman and child in this crisis that we are going

through.

Among those who have been killed or disabled were men and women who could have helped to build planes, tanks, ships and guns -- who could have served in civilian defense or in many other essential services. As a result of industrial accidents alone, quite apart from those which were fatal, the time lost last year reached the almost incredible total of 42,000,000 man days.

It's (is) not only our enemies who kill valuable Americans. Carelessness in driving on the highways, (or) in the operation of machines in factories, (can) cost us many lives that were needed by our country in using every resource most effectively.

And we must remember too, as all of you know so well, that there is a national shortage of doctors and nurses. Every preventible civilian accident diverts sorely needed medical, surgical and nursing care from the imperative requirements of our own Army and Navy. Now it is not going too far to say that any civilians in the United States who, through reckless driving or through failure to take proper safety measures in industrial plants, kill or maim their fellow citizens, those civilians are definitely doing injury to our sons and brothers who are fighting this war in uniform. And similar injury to our armed forces is done by pedestrians or workers who, through thoughtlessness (and) or carelessness, put themselves in harm's way.

Not all of us can participate in direct action against our enemies; but all of us can participate in the saving of our national manpower.

Three years ago tomorrow morning, on September 1st, 1939, Hitler's legions launched their first Blitzkrieg against the people of Poland. In

these three years men, women and children have died, (and) nations have been tortured and enslaved, to satisfy the brutal lust for power of a few inhuman tyrants -- German, Italian and Japanese.

To the defeat of such tyrants -- to the removal from this earth of the injustices and inequalities (which) that create such tyrants and breed new wars -- this nation is wholly dedicated.

Let this hospital then stand, for all men to see throughout all the years, as a monument -- a monument to our determination to work and to fight until the time comes when the human race shall have that true health in body and mind and spirit which can be realized only in a climate of equity and faith.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT,  
IN CONNECTION WITH  
THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY,  
BROADCAST IN THE DIPLOMATIC ROOM  
AT THE WHITE HOUSE,  
SEPTEMBER 3, 1942,  
AT 12.30 P.M., E.W.T.

(60 delegates representing the 29 United Nations were present to hear the President's address. The rest of the Assembly heard the address at American University)

MRS. ROOSEVELT: Secretary Early wants me to remind everybody that there must be no applause while the President is speaking at all. He is to go through before there is any applause. At the end, that's different.

THE PRESIDENT: And don't sneeze. (laughter)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It may interest the members of this Assembly of the International Student Service to know that during the past week the Axis radio has given unusual comment to your sessions, and to the speech which you are hearing at this moment.

Our listening stations have picked up an increasing volume of Axis broadcasts, including controlled stations in France, and Hungary, The Netherlands and elsewhere, referring to this meeting of the younger generation from all the United Nations in terms that are not complimentary, in terms of growing hate and, of course, complete falsehood. Our listening stations report that they expect that at this moment the air in all Axis-dominated nations will be thoroughly jammed -- blacked out -- in order that no sound of what I am saying, either in English or in translation, will be heard by any restless young people who are under Hitler's heel.

The Nazi radio in Paris, for example, tells the youth of France that this man Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; that Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message to the youth of the world because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested in advance against this speech, since this man Roosevelt must be blamed for the death of more than one hundred thousand young Frenchmen. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know how many real Frenchmen there are in these so-called French Youth Organizations.

And a radio in Tokyo says that I am admitting to you at this moment that my people in the United States are decadent -- weaklings -- playboys -- spoiled by jazz music and Hollywood pictures. Of course, this broadcast from Tokyo did not originate from any of the Japanese who bumped into our playboys in the Southwest Pacific.

The reason for this hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering is not hard to find. For many years they have made their hypocritical appeal to youth -- they have tried, with all their blatant publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth -- except death.

On the other hand, the cause of the United Nations is the cause of youth itself. It is the hope of the new generation -- and the generations that are to come -- hope for a new life that can be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a

pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a form of mental forcible feeding -- a diet of false facts, distortions, (and) prohibitions -- all backed up by the guns of the Gestapo.

If you have any doubt as to what the decent youth of Europe think about the false promises the Axis masters make to the young people of the world, look to the brave young men of France and all the occupied countries who prefer to face the firing squads rather than a lifetime of slavery and degradation under Hitler.

In such unfortunate countries as Finland, and Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy, whose Governments have found it necessary to submit to Hitler and do his bidding, the Quislings have organized youth movements too -- but these are only movements of youth by the tens of thousands to the slaughter of the Eastern front, where the Nazis need cannon-fodder in their desperate attempts to shatter the stalwart Russian Army.

In China, heroic youth has stood steadfast for more than five years against all of Japan's attempts to seduce and disarm them with such transparent lies as the promise of "Asia for the Asiatics". For the Chinese know that this only means "All of creation enslaved by the Japanese".

We exult in the thought that it is the young, free men and women of the United Nations, and not the wound-up robots of the slave states, who will mold the shape of the new world.

The delegates to this International Student Assembly represent the twenty-nine United Nations. They also represent, in spirit at least, the younger generation of many other nations who, though they are not now actively at war on our side, are with us heart and soul in (aspiration) aspiring for a secure and peaceful world.

Before the first World War, very few people in any country believed



that youth had the right to speak for itself as a group or to participate in councils of State.

We have learned much since then. We know that wisdom does not come necessarily with years; that old men may be foolish, and young men may be wise. But in every war, it is the younger generation which bears the burden, the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war leaves in its wake.

In the economic crises that followed the false prosperity after the first World War, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunities for education, for training, for work, (or) and even for food enough to build up healthy bodies. As a result, they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems, but for all of the problems that beset all of the world. Some listened to alien, siren voices (which) that offered glib answers to all the questions they asked. "Democracy is dead," said these voices. "Follow us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. And all that we ask you to give in return is -- your freedom."

Other young people in the democracies listened to gospels of despair. They took refuge in cynicism, (and) in bitterness.

However, the day finally came when all theory had to give way to fact -- the terrible, tangible fact of dive bombers, and panzer divisions, the actual threat to the security of every home and every family in every free country in the world. And when that fact became clear to our youth they answered the call to arms -- many millions of them; and, today, they are determined to fight until the forces of aggression have been utterly destroyed.

What I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, and sailors and marines, not only within the continental limits of the United States, but in far distant points -- in Central and South America, in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on the Coasts of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New Zealand, in many Islands of the Pacific and on all the seas of the world. There -- in (all) those distant places -- are our fighting men.

And to them I should like to deliver a special message, from their Commander-in-Chief, and from the very hearts of their countrymen:

You young Americans today are conducting yourselves in a manner that is worthy of the highest, proudest traditions of our nation.

No pilgrims who landed on the uncharted New England Coast, no pioneers who forced their way through the trackless wilderness, showed greater fortitude, greater determination, than you are showing now.

Neither your own fathers, in 1918, nor your fathers' fathers, in 1863 or 1776, fought with greater gallantry or more selfless devotion to duty and country than you are now displaying on battlefields far from home.

And what is more, you know why you are fighting. You know that the road (which) that has led you to the Solomon Islands, or to the Red Sea, or to the coast of France, is in fact an extension of Main Street, and that when you fight, anywhere along that road, you are fighting in the defense of your own homes, your own free schools, your own churches, your own ideals.

We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you, now and in the future. We will not let you down.

We know that in the minds of many of you are thoughts of interrupted education, interrupted careers, delayed opportunities for getting a

a job. The solution of such problems cannot be left, as it was the last time, to mere chance. This Government has accepted the responsibility for seeing to it that, wherever possible, work has been provided for those who were willing and able, but who could not find work. That responsibility will continue after the war. And when you come home, we do not propose to involve you, as last time, in a domestic economic mess of our own making.

You are doing first things first -- fighting to win this war. For you know that should this war be lost, all our plans for the peace to follow would be meaningless.

Victory is essential; but victory is not enough for you -- or for us. We must be sure that when you have won victory, you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain -- that you were betrayed. We must be sure that in your homes there will not be want -- that in your schools only the living truth will be taught -- that in your churches there may be preached without fear a faith in which men may deeply believe.

The better world for which you fight -- and for which some of you give your lives -- will not come merely because we shall have won the war. It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come. It will be made possible only by bold vision, intelligent planning and hard work. It cannot be brought about overnight; but only by years of effort and perseverance and unfaltering faith.

You young soldiers and sailors, farmers and factory workers, artists and scholars, who are fighting our way to victory now, all of you will have to take your part in shaping that world. You will earn it by what you do now; but you will not attain it if you leave the job for others to do alone. When you lay aside your gun at the end of the war, you cannot at the same time lay aside your duty to the future.



What I have said to our American soldiers and sailors just now, applies to all the young men and women of the United Nations who are facing our common enemies. There is a complete unanimity of spirit among all the youth of all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve or to regain their freedom.

In Norway and Holland, Belgium and France, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Serbia and Greece, there is a fighting spirit that defies the harsh oppression, the barbarous cruelty and terrorism of the Nazis. Although disarmed, the unconquerable people still strike at their oppressors. Although forbidden to know the truth, they listen at the risk of their lives to radio broadcasts from afar; and, by word of mouth and by secret information and newspapers passed from one patriot to another, they still spread the truth. When the time comes for these peoples to rise, Hitler's New Order will be destroyed by the hands of its own victims.

Today the embattled youth of Russia and China are realizing a new individual dignity, casting off the last links of the ancient chains of imperial despotism which had bound them so long.

This is a development of historic importance. It means that the old term, "Western Civilization," no longer applies. World events and the common needs of all humanity are joining the culture of Asia with the culture of Europe and the culture of the Americas to form, for the first time, a real world civilization.

In the concept of the Four Freedoms, in the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter, we have set for ourselves high goals, unlimited objectives.

These concepts, (and) these principles, are designed to form a world in which men, women and children can live in freedom and in equity

and, above all, without fear of the horrors of war. For no soldiers or sailors, in any of our forces today, would so willingly endure the rigors of battle if they thought that in another twenty years their own sons would be fighting still another war on distant deserts or seas or in far-away jungles or in the skies.

We have profited by our past mistakes. This time we shall know how to make full use of victory. This time the achievements of our fighting forces will not be thrown away by political cynicism and timidity and incompetence.

There is still, however, a handful of men and women, in the United States and elsewhere, who mock and sneer at the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. They are few in number; but some of them have the financial power to give our enemies the false impression that they have a large following among our citizenry. They play petty politics in a world crisis. They fiddle with many sour notes while civilization burns. These puny prophets decry our determination to implement our high concepts and our sound principles. And the words of these little men of little faith are quoted with gleeful approval by the press and the radio of our enemies.

We are deeply aware that we cannot achieve our goals easily. We cannot attain the fullness of all of our ideals overnight. We know that this is to be a long and hard and bitter fight -- and that there will still be an enormous job for us to do long after the last German, Japanese and Italian bombing planes have been shot to earth.

But we do believe that, with divine guidance, we can make -- in this dark world of today, and in the new post-war world of tomorrow -- a steady progress toward the highest goals that men have ever imagined.

We of the United Nations have the technical means, the physical

resources, and, most of all, the adventurous courage and the vision and the will that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth.

But we must keep at it -- we must never relax, never falter, never fear --and we must keep at it together.

We must maintain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must work, (and) we must fight to ensure that our children shall have and shall enjoy in peace their inalienable rights to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

Only on those bold terms can this total war result in total victory.

(loud applause)

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THE PRESIDENT: Am I off the air?

MR. EARLY: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Now that I am off the air, I can say "How do you do" to all of you. (laughter)

And I want to say "How do you do" to each one of you. And when you go through here, I think you will have to go out, because I have to put this on again for the movies.

(the President then met each one of the delegates, saying a few words to many of them)

(after the delegates had left, the President made three more 'runs' for the newsreels, having made two before the Address)



REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE TRANSFER OF A SHIP,  
KING HAAKON VII, TO NORWAY  
BROADCAST OVER THE RADIO  
AT 12.30 P.M., E.W.T.,  
SEPTEMBER 16, 1942

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, MR. AMBASSADOR:

If there is anyone who still wonders why this war is being fought, let him look (to) at Norway. If there is anyone who has any delusions that this war could have been averted, let him look (to) at Norway. And if there is anyone who doubts the democratic will to win, again I say, let him look (to) at Norway.

He will find in Norway, at once conquered and unconquerable, the answer to his questioning.

We all know how this most peaceful and innocent of countries was ruthlessly violated. The combination of treachery and brute force which conquered Norway will live in history as the blackest deed of a black era. Norway fought valiantly with what few weapons there were at hand -- and fell.

And with Norway fell the concept that either remoteness from political controversy or usefulness to mankind could give any nation immunity from attack in a world where aggression spread unchecked.

But the story of Norway since the conquest shows that while a free democracy may be slow to realize its danger, it can be heroic when aroused. At home, the Norwegian people have silently resisted the invader's will with grim endurance. Abroad, Norwegian ships and Norwegian men have rallied to the cause of the United Nations. And their assistance to that cause has been out of all proportion to their small numbers. The

Norwegian merchant marine has lost some two hundred ships and thirteen hundred seamen in carrying the supplies vital to our own and Allied forces overseas. Nor has the Norwegian Navy been less active. Norse fighting ships battled valiantly but vainly against the invader -- destroying one-third of the German invasion fleet before they were overwhelmed by superior forces. Right now the blue cross of Norway flies on the fourth largest Navy of the United Nations -- a Navy whose operations extend from the North Sea to the Indian Ocean.

It is today the privilege of the people of the United States, through the mechanism of the Lend-Lease Law, to assist this gallant Navy in carrying out its present heavy duties.

Your Royal Highness, as a token of the admiration and friendship of the American people toward your country and her Navy, I ask you to receive this ship. We Americans, together with the millions of loyal Norwegians, are glad that this ship is being given today the name of the King of Norway -- a leader well versed in the ways of the sea, a true leader who, with his people, has always stood for the freedom of the seas for all nations. May this ship long keep the seas in the battle for liberty. And may the day come when (she) this ship will carry the Norwegian flag into a home port in a free Norway!

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
IN CONNECTION WITH THE  
1942 COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION FOR HUMAN NEEDS  
BROADCAST OVER A NATIONWIDE HOOKUP  
OCTOBER 5, 1942,  
AT 10.50 P.M., E.W.T.

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW-AMERICANS:

Tonight a mighty Community Mobilization begins, a voluntary mobilization of the forces of human kindness and decency. In more than 600 American cities, gifts for foreign war relief and for community services at home will be gathered by the experienced hands of community chests and war chests. The two great labor organizations of the (country) nation will give full cooperation to this work. And hundreds of thousands of citizens will give freely of their time and talents for the success of these campaigns.

You have been accustomed for many years to showing your concern for the welfare of your own neighbors through contributions to your community chest; and also we must stretch a handclasp of hope and courage across the seas.

We must transform some of our new buying power into giving power as we face redoubled needs on every hand at home and abroad; and prepare to pull our belts tighter for the hard fight ahead.

For most of us this year, giving will not be easy. War needs exact a heavy toll, not only on the fighting front but in the personal lives and fortunes of every one of us. But your giving will provide not alone strength for our nation at war; but proof, in a world of violence and greed, that the American people keep faith with democracy, that we hold inviolate our belief in the infinite worth of the individual human being.



Your gift may give new heart to courageous families bombed out of their homes in many places; it may add to the precious store of medicines in a distant hospital or speed a shipload of food to a little nation, whose people are dropping in the streets from starvation. It may strengthen the hands of brave allies fighting our common foe. It may help a busy mother, working in war industry in your own town, to take proper care of her family. It may speed on her rounds a visiting nurse who is carrying a double load because so many of her profession are now with the armed forces. And it will help your community to give hospitality to soldiers, sailors and marines on a precious few-days leave, or on their way to some distant battle line.

Your gift must take account, also, of the continuing needs of the sick, the crippled child, the boys and girls whose homes are not adequate to their needs; the dependent, (and) the unfortunate in your own neighborhoods, whose troubles have not lessened with the new worries and needs which war has brought.

Upon each one of you who listens tonight -- upon you as an individual -- in your own cities and towns and farms throughout this vast country, rests the success or the failure of these campaigns.

And so in generous giving, we will affirm before the world our nation's faith in the inalienable right of every man to a life of freedom, and justice and decent security. Every successful community chest, (and) every war chest campaign will be another step toward the eventual victory of humanity and civilization.

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President's Remarks on the Occasion of the Awarding  
of the First Maritime Distinguished Service Medal  
to Edwin F. Cheney - Quartermaster  
Executive Offices of the President  
October 8, 1942

(Emory Land presented Mr. Cheney, Dr. Henry Field,  
et al, to the President)

THE PRESIDENT: This is a really historic occasion, because it is the first.

(looking at the medal) It's all right. It's an awfully good-looking one; and it's different. (then to Mr. Cheney) There's the little thing that you wear all the time. You wouldn't want this flapping around you.

(the President was unsuccessful in unlocking the clasp of the medal) They are all this way -- terrible. (laughter) I still can't get it undone. See if you can, Jerry, you are pretty good.

MR. LAND: My fingers are all thumbs.

THE PRESIDENT: Didn't you used to be a constructor? (laughter) (the clasp was finally unlocked)

THE PRESIDENT: There you are -- fine. All right, sir, if you will lean over, I will put this right up here. (to the photographers) Now wait a minute until I pin it on. Come around so that you will get it full-face.

(the photographers took their pictures,  
which included Admiral Land)

THE PRESIDENT: Wait a minute -- wait a minute. There you are.

MR. CHENEY: Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: All right. Better put it back in the box. That's fine.

Well, this is really an historic occasion. And there are going to be more of these. It recognizes a form of valor which is just as essential as valor on a fighting ship. We will get a great deal out of it. We are beginning to recognize that fact. It's a fine thing.

I had better read the Citation, in case you haven't all heard it:

(reading): Edwin F. Cheney, Quartermaster. CITATION:

"For heroism above and beyond the call of duty during enemy attack when he released and launched a life-raft from a sinking and burning ship, and manuevred it through a pool of burning oil to clear water by swimming under water, coming up only to breathe. Although he had incurred severe burns about the face and arms in this action, he then guided four of his shipmates to the raft, and swam to and rescued two others who were injured and unable to help themselves.

"His extraordinary courage and disregard of his own safety in thus rescuing his shipmates will be an enduring inspiration to seamen of the United States Merchant Marine everywhere.

"For the President, and Emory S. Land."

I think that's fine.

Now Cheney, doesn't he get something in writing, besides that Citation.

MR. LAND: That's all, unless the Chairman ---



THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) That's all done.

VOICES: His copy is outside.

THE PRESIDENT: As long as he gets a copy, that's all right.

Well, that's fine. Congratulations. I think it's a very nice thing, and I think that's the best new medal I have seen yet.

MR. CHENEY: Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Fine. Well, good to have seen you. Congratulations again.

MR. LAND: Thanks, Mr. President.

(Not given to Press)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
DELIVERED IN THE AMPHITHEATRE,  
ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY,  
ARMISTICE DAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1942,  
AT 11.15, A.M., E.W.T.  
(BROADCAST NATIONALLY)

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

Here in Arlington we are in the presence of the honored dead.

And I think that we are accountable to them -- (and) accountable to the generations yet unborn for whom they gave their lives.

Today, as on all Armistice Days since 1918, our thoughts go back to the First World War; and we remember with gratitude the bravery of the men who fought and helped to win that fight against German militarism.

But this year our thoughts are also very much of the living present, (and) of the future which we begin to see opening before us -- a picture illumined by a new light of hope.

Today, Americans and their British brothers-in-arms are again fighting on French soil. They are again fighting against a German militarism which transcends a hundred-fold the brutality and the barbarism of 1918.

The Nazis of today -- and their appropriate associates, the Japanese -- have attempted to drive history into reverse, to use all the mechanics of modern civilization to drive humanity back to conditions of pre-historic savagery.

They sought to conquer the world, and for a time they seemed to be successful in realizing their boundless ambition. They over-ran great territories. They enslaved -- they killed.

But, today, we know and they know that they have conquered nothing. Today, they face inevitable, final defeat. (applause)

Yes, the forces of liberation are advancing.

Britain, Russia, China and the United States grow rapidly to full strength. The opponents of decency and justice have passed their peak.

And -- as the result of recent events -- very recent -- the United States' and the United Nations' forces are being joined by large numbers of the fighting men of our traditional ally, France. On this day, of all days, it is heartening for us to know that soldiers of France go forward with the United Nations.

The American Unknown Soldier who lies here did not give his life on the fields of France merely to defend his American home for the moment that was passing. He gave it that his family, his neighbors, and all his fellow Americans might live in peace in (the) days to come. His hope was not fulfilled.

American soldiers are giving their lives today in all the continents and on all the seas in order that the dream of the Unknown Soldier may (at last) come true at last. (Applause) All the heroism, (and) all the unconquerable devotion that free men and women are showing in this war shall make certain the survival and the advancement of civilization. That is why on this day of remembrance we do not cease from our work. (and that in) We are going about our tasks in the behalf of our fighting men everywhere. Our thoughts turn in gratitude to those who have saved our Nation in days gone by.

We stand in the presence of the honored dead.

We stand accountable to them, and to the generations yet unborn for whom they gave their lives.

God, the Father of all living, watches over these hallowed graves and blesses the souls of those who rest here. May He keep us strong in the



courage that will win (this) the war, and may He impart to us the wisdom and the vision that we shall need for true victory in the peace which is to come.  
(applause)

At this moment great events are taking place in France and Africa;  
and I think it is particularly appropriate that we greet here today the  
General of the Armies of the United States. (applause)

And I know that I speak for all of you here. I know that I speak  
for all Americans -- men, women and children -- in every part of this great  
land, when I extend our American affectionate greetings to General Pershing.  
(applause)

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE  
SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GOVERNMENT  
OF THE  
COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES  
NOVEMBER 15, 1942  
AT 5.20 P.M., E.W.T.

FRIENDS OF THE UNITED NATIONS:

Though the alien flag of a treacherous aggressor flies temporarily over the Commonwealth of the Philippines, it is with supreme confidence in ultimate victory that the United Nations commemorate this birthday of its youngest member.

It was just seven years ago that this Commonwealth was established. By that time the United States had maintained sovereignty (of) in the Philippine Islands for (almost forty) more than thirty years. But as I said in 1935 when the present Commonwealth was inaugurated, "The acceptance of sovereignty was but an obligation to serve the people of the Philippines until the day they might find themselves (be) independent, and take their own place among the nations of the world."

Let me go back to the days when Admiral Dewey won the battle of Manila Bay, and American sovereignty was established over the Islands. To a very large part of the American people, it seemed incongruous and unwise that the United States should continue permanently a colonial status over many millions of human beings who had already shown a desire for independence.

However, the United States and the leaders of the (Filipino) Philippine people soon undertook a long-time process of providing facilities -- facilities in the islands for education, and health, and commerce, and transportation, with the definite thought that the day would come when

the people would be able to stand on their own feet. And at the same time, we granted them a greater and greater degree of local self-government.

By the year 1934, sympathetic conferences between Philippine and American leaders reached the conclusion that the time for complete independence could be definitely set, to follow a ten-year period of complete local autonomy under a Commonwealth form of government with its own Constitution.

This status was duly set up in 1935 under the Presidency of my old friend, Manuel Quezon. It succeeded so well that by December 7, 1941, we were jointly at work preparing for the consummation of complete independence in 1946. Both nations and peoples had kept faith with each other during all these years. Confidence in each other's good faith was firmly established -- and it was cemented into place during the bitter months of ordeal which followed the treachery of Japan.

The brave peoples of the Philippines -- their Army and their civilians -- stood shoulder to shoulder with the Americans in (the) their fight against overwhelming odds, resolute to shed their blood in defense of their liberty. Richly (do) they deserved that liberty!

I like to think that the history of the Philippine Islands in the last forty-four years provides in a very real sense a pattern for the future of other small nations and peoples of the world. It is a pattern of what men of goodwill look forward to in the future -- a pattern of a global civilization which recognizes no limitations of religion, (or) of creed, or of race.

But we must remember that such a pattern is based on two important factors. The first is that there be a period of preparation, through the dissemination of education, and the recognition and fulfillment of physical



and social and economic needs. The second is that there be a period of training for ultimate independent sovereignty, through the practice of more and more self-government, beginning with local government and passing on through the various steps to complete statehood.

Even we in the United States did not arrive at full national independence until we had gone through the preliminary stages. The town meetings in the New England colonies, and the similar local organizations in other colonies, gradually led to county government and then to state government. That whole process of political training and development preceded the final formation of (the) our permanent Federal Government in 1789.

Such training for independence is essential to the stability of independence in almost every part of the world. Some peoples need more intensive training and longer years of it; others require far less training and (a) shorter periods of time.

The recent history of the Philippines has been one of national cooperation and adjustment and development. We are sure now, if ever we doubted, that our Government in the United States chose the right and the honorable course.

The pattern which was followed there is essentially a part and parcel of the philosophy and the ideals of the United Nations. The doctrine which controls the ambitions and directs the ruthlessness of our enemies -- that there is one master folk destined to rule all other peoples -- is a doctrine now on its way to destruction for all time to come.

The United States and the Philippines are already engaged in examining the practical economic problems of the future -- when President Quezon and his Government are reestablished in the Capital of Manila. He and I, in conference last week, have agreed to set up a Joint Commission of

our two countries, to study the economic situation which will face the nation which is soon to be, and (to) work out means of preserving its stability, and above all its security.

This typifies, I think, the highest form of good faith, which (now) exists wholeheartedly between our two governments.

It does (is) more than that. It is a realistic symbol of our grim determination and of our supreme confidence that we shall drive the Japanese Army out of the Philippines -- to the last man.

President Quezon -- on this auspicious anniversary -- I salute, through you, the people of the Philippine Islands. I salute their courage. I salute their independence.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
IN CONNECTION WITH THE  
HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM  
NOVEMBER 17, 1942  
AT 10.30 P.M., E.W.T.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I have always welcomed the opportunity to participate in the Herald Tribune Forum, because I have always been interested in the public presentation of all kinds of national problems.

In time of peace every variety of problem and issue is an interesting subject for public discussion.

But in time of war the American people know that the one all-important job before them is fighting and working to win. Therefore, of necessity, while long-range social and economic problems are by no means forgotten, they are a little like books which for the moment we have laid aside in order that we might get out the old Atlas to learn the geography of the battle areas.

In time of war your Government cannot always give spot news to the people. Nearly everybody understands that -- and the reasons for it.

This means that those relatively few people who do have the facts from all over the world, not only every day but every hour of every day, are somewhat precluded from discussing these facts publicly, except in the most general of terms. If they did they would almost inevitably say things (which) that would help the people who are trying to destroy us.

In reverse, those who are not in possession of all the news must almost inevitably speak from guesswork based on information of doubtful accuracy. They do not know the facts and, therefore, the value of their statements becomes greatly reduced. Nor must we, in the actual progress of the war, lend ears to the clamor of politics or to criticism from those



who, as we know in our hearts, are actuated by political motives.

The fact that this type of criticism has done less harm in the United States than might be expected has been due to the good old horse sense of the American people. I know from a somewhat long experience -- in wartime as well as peacetime -- that the overwhelming majority of our people know how to discriminate -- how to discriminate in their reading and in their radio-listening between informed discussion and verbal thrusts in the dark.

I think you will realize that I have made a constant effort as Commander-in-Chief to keep politics out of the fighting of this war.

But I must confess that my foot slipped once. About ten days before the late Election Day one of our aircraft carriers was torpedoed in the Southwest Pacific. She did not sink at once, but it became clear that she could not make port. She was, therefore, destroyed by our own forces. We in Washington did not know whether the enemy was aware of her sinking -- for there were no Japanese ships near enough to see her go down. You will realize, of course, that the actual knowledge of the loss of enemy ships has a definite bearing on continuing naval operations for some time after the event. We, for instance, know that we have sunk a number of Japanese aircraft carriers and we know that we have bombed or torpedoed others. We would give a King's ransom to know whether the latter were sunk or were saved, repaired and put back into commission.

However, when we got news of the sinking of this particular ship, a great issue was being raised in the Congress and in the public vehicles of information as to the suppression of news from the fighting fronts. There was a division of opinion among responsible authorities.

Here came my mistake. I yielded to the clamor. I did so partly

in realization of the certainty that if the news of the sinking were given out two or three weeks later it would be publicly charged that the news had been suppressed by me until after the Election.

Then shortly thereafter protests came in -- protests from the Admirals in command in the Southwest Pacific and at our great base in Hawaii on the ground that, in all probability, the Japanese Navy had no information of the sinking and that handing them the information on a silver platter -- although we were careful not to reveal the name of (this) the carrier -- still gave to the Japanese (them) a military advantage which they would otherwise not have had.

This confession of mine illustrates to the people of this country the fact that in time of war the conduct of that war, with the aim of victory, comes absolutely first. They know that not one of their inalienable rights is taken away through the failure to disclose to them, for a reasonable length of time, facts -- facts that Hitler and Mussolini and Tojo would give their eye-teeth to learn. Facts therefore become paramount -- facts that cannot be told to the public at the time, as well as facts that can and should be told at all times.

The posters that tell you, "Loose Talk Costs Lives," do not exaggerate. Loose talk delays victory. Loose talk is the damp that gets into powder. We prefer to keep our powder dry.

We have a gigantic job to do -- all of us, together. Our battle lines today stretch from Kiska to Murmansk, from Tunisia to Guadalcanal. These lines will grow longer, as our forces advance.

Yes, we have (had) an uphill fight, and it will continue to be uphill, all the way. There can be no coasting to victory.

During the past two weeks we have had a great deal of good news

and it would seem that the turning point of this war has at last been reached. But this is no time for exultation. There is no time now for anything but fighting and working to win.

A few days ago, as our Army advanced through North Africa, on the other side of the world our Navy was fighting what was one of the greatest battles of our history.

A very powerful Japanese force was moving at night toward our positions in the Solomon Islands. The spearhead of the force that we sent to intercept the enemy was under the command of Rear Admiral Daniel J. Callaghan. He was aboard the leading ship, the Cruiser San Francisco.

The San Francisco sailed right into the enemy fleet -- right through the whole enemy fleet -- her guns blazing. She engaged and hit three enemy vessels, sinking one of them. At point-blank range, she engaged an enemy battleship -- heavily her superior in size and fire-power. She silenced this battleship's big guns and so disabled her that she could be sunk by torpedoes from our destroyers and aircraft.

The San Francisco herself was hit many times. Admiral Callaghan, my close personal friend, and many of his gallant officers and men gave their lives in this battle. But the San Francisco was brought safely back to port by a Lieutenant Commander, and she will fight again for (our) her country.

The Commander of the task force of which the San Francisco was a part has recommended that she be the first of our Navy's vessels to be decorated for outstanding service.

But there are no citations, no medals, which carry with them such high honor as that accorded to fighting men by the respect of their comrades-in-arms.



The Commanding General of the Marines on Guadalcanal, General Vandergrift, yesterday sent a message to the Commander of the Fleet, Admiral Halsey, saying, "We lift our battered helmets in admiration for those who fought magnificently against overwhelming odds and drove the enemy back to crushing defeat."

Let us thank God for such men as these. May our Nation continue to be worthy of them, throughout this war, and forever.

THANKSGIVING DAY SERVICES  
NOVEMBER 26, 1942  
ATTENDED BY THE PRESIDENT

THESE THANKSGIVING DAY SERVICES  
WERE HELD  
IN THE EAST ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE AT  
11 A.M., E.W.T., NOVEMBER 26, 1942  
THANKSGIVING DAY  
THEY WERE BROADCAST NATIONALLY

Before the President read his Proclamation, he said:

I will begin our simple services by reading the  
Proclamation for Thanksgiving Day, and including New Year's  
Day the coming year:

(reading)

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

"It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord."

Across the uncertain ways of space and time our hearts echo  
those words, for the days are with us again when, at the gather-  
ing of the harvest, we solemnly express our dependence upon  
Almighty God.

The final months of this year, now almost spent, find  
our Republic and the nations joined with it waging a battle  
on many fronts for the preservation of liberty.

In giving thanks for the greatest harvest in the his-  
tory of our nation, we who plant and reap can well resolve that  
in the year to come we will do all in our power to pass that  
milestone; for by our labors in the fields we can share some  
part of the sacrifice with our brothers and sons who wear the

uniform of the United States.

It is fitting that we recall now the reverent words of George Washington,

"Almighty God, we make our earnest prayer that Thou wilt keep the United States in Thy holy Protection",

and that every American in his own way lift his voice to Heaven.

I recommend that all of us bear in mind this great Psalm:

"The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.

"He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters.

"He restoreth my soul; he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.

"Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

"Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

"Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever."

Inspired with faith and courage by these words, let us turn again to the work that confronts us in this time of national emergency: in the armed services and the merchant marine; in factories and offices; on farms and in the mines; on highways, railways and airways; in other places of public service to the Nation; and in our homes.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, President of the United States of America, do hereby invite the attention of the people to the joint resolution of Congress approved December 26, 1941, which designates the fourth Thursday



in November of each year as Thanksgiving Day; and I request that both Thanksgiving Day, November 26, 1942, and New Year's Day, January 1, 1943, be observed in prayer, publicly and privately.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this eleventh day of November in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty-seventh.

(SEAL)

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

By the President:

CORDELL HULL

Secretary of State.

(see attached program for details  
of the service)



# A Thanksgiving Day Service

THE WHITE HOUSE

November 26, 1942

# A Thanksgiving Day Service At The White House

*Conducted by the Rev. Howard S. Wilkinson, D. D.,  
Rector of St. Thomas' Church*

## THANKSGIVING DAY PROCLAMATION • THE PRESIDENT

### HYMN 530. ONWARD CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS

1 Onward, Christian soldiers,  
Marching as to war,  
With the cross of Jesus  
Going on before!  
Christ, the royal Master,  
Leads against the foe;  
Forward into battle,  
See, his banners go.

Onward, Christian soldiers,  
Marching as to war,  
With the cross of Jesus  
Going on before!

2 At the sign of triumph  
Satan's host doth flee;  
On, then, Christian soldiers,  
On to victory!  
Hell's foundations quiver  
At the shout of praise;  
Brothers, lift your voices,  
Loud your anthems raise!



Onward, Christian soldiers,  
Marching as to war,  
With the cross of Jesus  
Going on before!

- 3 Like a mighty army  
Moves the Church of God;  
Brothers, we are treading  
Where the saints have trod;  
We are not divided,  
All one Body we,  
One in hope and doctrine,  
One in charity.

Onward, Christian soldiers,  
Marching as to war,  
With the cross of Jesus  
Going on before!

- 4 Crowns and thrones may perish,  
Kingdoms rise and wane,  
But the Church of Jesus  
Constant will remain;  
Gates of hell can never  
'Gainst that Church prevail;  
We have Christ's own promise,  
And that cannot fail.

Onward, Christian soldiers,  
Marching as to war,  
With the cross of Jesus  
Going on before!

- 5 Onward, then, ye people!  
Join our happy throng!  
Blend with ours your voices  
In the triumph song!  
Glory, laud, and honor,  
Unto Christ the King;

This through countless ages  
Men and angels sing.  
Onward, Christian soldiers,  
Marching as to war,  
With the cross of Jesus  
Going on before!

PSALM 103

1 Praise the LORD, O my soul : and all that is within me, praise his holy Name.

2 Praise the LORD, O my soul : and forget not all his benefits :

3 Who forgiveth all thy sin : and healeth all thine infirmities ;

4 Who saveth thy life from destruction : and crowneth thee with mercy and loving-kindness ;

5 Who satisfieth thy mouth with good things : making thee young and lusty as an eagle.

6 The LORD executeth righteousness and judgment : for all them that are oppressed with wrong.

7 He showed his ways unto Moses : his works unto the children of Israel.

8 The LORD is full of compassion and mercy : long-suffering, and of great goodness.

9 He will not alway be chiding : neither keepeth he his anger for ever.

10 He hath not dealt with us after our sins : nor rewarded us according to our wickednesses.

11 For look how high the heaven is in comparison of the earth : so great is his mercy also toward them that fear him.

12 Look how wide also the east is from the west : so far hath he set our sins from us.

13 Yea, like as a father pitieth his own children : even so is the LORD merciful unto them that fear him.

14 For he knoweth whereof we are made : he remembereth that we are but dust.

15 The days of man are but as grass : for he flourisheth as a flower of the field.

16 For as soon as the wind goeth over it, it is gone : and the place thereof shall know it no more.

17 But the merciful goodness of the LORD endureth for ever and ever upon them that fear him : and his righteousness upon children's children ;

18 Even upon such as keep his covenant : and think upon his commandments to do them.

19 The LORD hath prepared his seat in heaven : and his kingdom ruleth over all.

20 O praise the LORD, ye angels of his, ye that excel in strength : ye that fulfil his commandment, and hearken unto the voice of his words.

21 O praise the LORD, all ye his hosts : ye servants of his that do his pleasure.

22 O speak good of the LORD, all ye works of his, in all places of his dominion : praise thou the LORD, O my soul.

#### HYMN 441. FAITH OF OUR FATHERS

*Tune of St. Finbar, 227*

1 Faith of our fathers! living still  
In spite of dungeon, fire and sword:  
O how our hearts beat high with joy,  
Whene'er we hear that glorious word:  
Faith of our fathers, holy faith!  
We will be true to thee till death.

2 Our fathers, chained in prisons dark,  
Were still in heart and conscience free:  
How sweet would be their children's fate,  
If they, like them, could die for thee!  
Faith of our fathers, holy faith!  
We will be true to thee till death.

3 Faith of our fathers! faith and prayer  
Shall keep our country true to thee;



And through the truth that comes from  
God,  
Our land shall then indeed be free.  
Faith of our fathers, holy faith!  
We will be true to thee till death.

- 4 Faith of our fathers! we will love  
Both friend and foe in all our strife:  
And preach thee, too, as love knows how,  
By kindly deeds and virtuous life.  
Faith of our fathers, holy faith!  
We will be true to thee till death.

#### THE FIRST LESSON · DEUTERONOMY VIII

#### HYMN 421. COME, YE THANKFUL PEOPLE, COME

- 1 Come, ye thankful people, come,  
Raise the song of harvest-home:  
All is safely gathered in,  
Ere the winter storms begin;  
God, our Maker, doth provide  
For our wants to be supplied;  
Come to God's own temple, come,  
Raise the song of harvest-home.
- 2 All the world is God's own field,  
Fruit unto his praise to yield;  
Wheat and tares together sown,  
Unto joy or sorrow grown:  
First the blade, and then the ear,  
Then the full corn shall appear:  
Grant, O harvest Lord, that we  
Wholesome grain and pure may be.

3 For the Lord our God shall come,  
And shall take his harvest-home;  
From his field shall in that day  
All offenses purge away;  
Give his angels charge at last  
In the fire the tares to cast,  
But the fruitful ears to store  
In his garner evermore.

4 Even so, Lord, quickly come  
To thy final harvest-home;  
Gather thou thy people in,  
Free from sorrow, free from sin;  
There, for ever purified,  
In thy presence to abide:  
Come, with all thine angels, come,  
Raise the glorious harvest-home. *Amen.*

THE SECOND LESSON - ST. MATTHEW VI: 25, END

HYMN 415. ETERNAL FATHER, STRONG TO SAVE

1 Eternal Father! strong to save,  
Whose arm hath bound the restless wave,  
Who bidd'st the mighty ocean deep  
Its own appointed limits keep:  
O hear us when we cry to thee  
For those in peril on the sea.

2 O Christ! whose voice the waters heard  
And hushed their raging at thy word,  
Who walkedst on the foaming deep,  
And calm amidst its rage didst sleep;  
O hear us when we cry to thee  
For those in peril on the sea!

- 3 Most Holy Spirit! who didst brood  
Upon the chaos dark and rude,  
And bid its angry tumult cease,  
And give, for wild confusion, peace;  
O hear us when we cry to thee  
For those in peril on the sea!
- 4 O Trinity of love and power!  
Our brethren shield in danger's hour;  
From rock and tempest, fire and foe,  
Protect them wheresoe'er they go;  
Thus evermore shall rise to thee  
Glad hymns of praise from land and sea. *Amen.*

#### THE LORD'S PRAYER

Our Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil: For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

#### THE COLLECT FOR THANKSGIVING DAY

O most merciful Father, who hast blessed the labours of the husbandman in the returns of the fruits of the earth; We give thee humble and hearty thanks for this thy bounty; beseeching thee to continue thy loving-kindness to us, that our land may still yield her increase, to thy glory and our comfort; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*



## PRAYER FOR THE PRESIDENT

O Lord, our heavenly Father, the high and mighty Ruler of the universe, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; Most heartily we beseech thee, with thy favour to behold and bless thy servant THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, and all others in authority; and so replenish them with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that they may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way. Endue them plenteously with heavenly gifts; grant them in health and prosperity long to live; and finally, after this life, to attain everlasting joy and felicity; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

## PRAYER FOR THE NATION

Almighty God, who hast given us this good land for our heritage; We humbly beseech thee that we may always prove ourselves a people mindful of thy favour and glad to do thy will. Bless our land with honourable industry, sound learning, and pure manners. Save us from violence, discord, and confusion; from pride and arrogancy, and from every evil way. Defend our liberties, and fashion into one united people the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues. Endue with the spirit of wisdom those to whom in thy Name we entrust the authority of government, that there may be justice and peace at home, and that, through obedience to thy law, we may show forth thy praise among the nations of the earth. In the time of prosperity, fill our hearts with thankfulness, and in the day of trouble, suffer not our trust in thee to fail; all which we ask through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

## PRAYER FOR ALL IN THE SERVICE OF OUR COUNTRY AND OUR ALLIES

O Almighty Lord God, who neither slumberest nor sleepest; Protect and assist, we beseech Thee, all those who at home or abroad, by land, by sea, or in the air, are serving this country, that they, being

armed with Thy defence, may be preserved evermore in all perils; and being filled with wisdom and girded with strength, may do their duty to Thy honour and glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

#### PRAYER FOR PEACE

O Almighty God, who makest even the wrath of man to turn to Thy praise; We beseech Thee so to order and dispose the issue of this war that we may be brought through strife to a lasting peace, and that the nations of the world may be united in a firmer fellowship, for the promotion of Thy glory and the good of all mankind; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

#### PRAYER FOR THOSE WHO MOURN

Almighty God, Father of mercies and giver of all comfort; Deal graciously, we pray thee, with all those who mourn, that, casting every care on thee, they may know the consolation of thy love; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

#### THE GENERAL THANKSGIVING

Almighty God, Father of all mercies, we, thine unworthy servants, do give thee most humble and hearty thanks for all thy goodness and loving-kindness to us, and to all men; we bless thee for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life; but above all, for thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ; for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory. And, we beseech thee, give us that due sense of all thy mercies, that our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful; and that we show forth thy praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives, by giving up our selves to thy service, and by walking before thee in holiness

and righteousness all our days; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

#### A SPECIAL THANKSGIVING

Most gracious God, by whose knowledge the depths are broken up, and the clouds drop down the dew; We yield thee unfeigned thanks and praise for the return of seed-time and harvest, for the increase of the ground and the gathering in of the fruits thereof, and for all the other blessings of thy merciful providence bestowed upon this nation and people. And, we beseech thee, give us a just sense of these great mercies; such as may appear in our lives by an humble, holy, and obedient walking before thee all our days; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and honour, world without end. *Amen.*

#### THE GRACE

#### HYMN 434. BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC

- 1 Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord;  
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;  
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift sword;  
His truth is marching on.  
Glory! glory! Hallelujah!  
His truth is marching on.
- 2 I have seen him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps;  
They have builded him an altar in the evening dews and damps;  
I have read his righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps;  
His day is marching on.



Glory! glory! Hallelujah!  
His day is marching on.

- 5 In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born, across the sea,  
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;  
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free!  
While God is marching on.

Glory! glory! Hallelujah!  
While God is marching on.

## THE BENEDICTION

A TOAST  
BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT THE  
STATE DINNER FOR  
PRESIDENT FULGENCIO BATISTA OF CUBA  
DECEMBER 8, 1942  
GIVEN ABOUT 9.15 P.M., E.W.T.

THE PRESIDENT: Back in March, 1933, there was some talk about our relationship with our neighbors, which I suppose includes not only our farthest neighbors, say in the Argentine, but also the nearest neighbor we have -- in Cuba.

Everybody in this country at least, and I think in other parts of the world, appreciated the ideal -- the ideal of the Good Neighbor. But they were words only; they had never been fulfilled. They had never been used for the fulfillment of the ideal; and in the summer of 1933 there were many reasons for it. The fact remains that there was serious trouble in our nearest neighbor; and a young man -- one of our youngest Ambassadors -- went down there to Havana, and came through the subsequent troubles in Havana with flying colors.

The main point I want to make is that when these troubles occurred in Havana, an unprecedented meeting was called at the Executive Offices. At that meeting we had all the Ambassadors and Ministers of all the American Republics.

And I said to them, speaking as a liberal, and very simply, "I think the time has come to recognize the practical exposition of the Good Neighbor Policy. I want to take this occasion to tell you that under a somewhat ancient treaty between the United States and Cuba we are permitted -- and in a sense because of necessity we are compelled by that treaty, which was better known as the Platt Amendment -- we are compelled to go into Cuba -- a free people, and one we helped to free and set up as

a sovereign nation -- and restore arms."

And I said, "Gentlemen, I am not going to do it. I am not going to apply the Platt Amendment. I am not going to send either the Army or the Navy to restore order in Cuba."

Well, there was a lifting of eyebrows among a good many of these nineteen other envoys. What is this new President of the United States going to do?

I said, "I am going to exercise the Good Neighbor Policy, because this is the first chance I have to put it into practical effect. If any Americans want to leave Cuba, they will have every opportunity. If any Americans want to get out, they can go down to the nearest port, and they will find a revenue cutter or a patrol boat of some kind that will take them on board and take them out. I am not going to land a single American soldier or sailor on the soil of the Cubans. I think this is an internal matter, which Cuba is fully competent to settle."

Well, that was the beginning. I think the Bible says, "Ye shall be known by your deeds."

And that particular act, throughout all the American Republics, did have an effect, because the United States proved in a practical way that it could apply the doctrine of the Good Neighbor.

Somebody in the paper, a few days ago, called it by a new term -- which I think is rather good -- called it not just the policy of the Good Neighbor, but the policy of the Good Partner. In other words, all of these Republics of ours are not just neighbors. We are partners in the common good -- all of us.

We are recognizing more and more that the word "partner" means that any country -- on either hemisphere -- cannot be happy and prosperous

until all the hemisphere is happy and prosperous; that if one nation of the twenty-one -- of the twenty-two, if we include our neighbor Canada -- is unhappy and full of unrest, in a serious depression which affects the lives of all their people, that that affects the happiness and the prosperity of all the other twenty, or twenty-one.

And on this dais I see a young man, and I think he had a vision. He was an army officer, and he took part in that revolution of 1933 in a very modest way. Today the Cuban people are very happy that he is holding the office of Chief Magistrate of the Republic of Cuba.

And so while he is not entirely a stranger with us -- he has been here before -- we received him as a Major General in command of the Armies of Cuba -- we are now very happy to have him come back to us as the President of our nearest neighbor, the Republic of Cuba; and I drink his health.

(President Batista replied to the  
President very briefly in Spanish)

NOTE: THIS WAS NOT GIVEN  
OUT TO THE PRESS, BUT VIA  
MR. EARLY'S MEMORY ON 12/9/42  
OF THIS TRANSCRIPT.

JR.



President Batista's Reply (From Translation)

Mr. President:

Although I am not a stranger to your shores and to you, as your expressive words have well stated tonight, on this occasion I have the high honor of visiting you as President of my country. Those deeply tragic days of the year 1933, the memory of which has hardly receded by the passage of time, had hours of profound preoccupation for us and of grave dangers for my country.

I was then an humble sergeant of the Cuban Army and God willed to place me at the head of that movement of revindication which has been, and continues as such, standing for a generating cycle of new forms in the domestic and foreign policy of Cuba. Over our destinies there was hanging the power of intervention of the Government of the United States of America in the personal affairs of the Government of the Island, provided for by the so-called Platt Amendment, inserted into the text of the Constitution of 1901, but which, fortunately, has been eliminated by your clear vision and the constant conduct of the Cuban people, deeming them worthy of their right to free determination. It pleased the Fates that there should occupy the Presidency of this great nation in that epoch a statesman of your virtues, who knew the value of taking advantage of an opportunity and make effective his intimate convictions of human decorum and political

dignity, in place of the mistaken scruples and fears of innovation which surround reformers.

The Cuban people have always been very jealous of their sovereignty, Mr. President, but at the same time very grateful for the services which have been, or may be rendered them. We do not forget that our independence and liberty were attained with the valiant and decisive participation of the citizens and government of the land of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and of others of such rank, who, like yourself, have contributed to the glorious traditions of this Nation, the soldiers of which mingled their own blood with our own, and as our own, gave their lives, being led, among others, by a Roosevelt, for which my country bears eternal gratitude.

Now, Mr. President, not just one country, but many, are in a worse situation than was Cuba before the famous "Joint Resolution" and the United States has responded with that valor which is now characteristic in her history as a lover of liberty and of democracy.

Because between Cuba and the United States there should not re-appear the jealousies of the kind which made her dubious, on different occasions, of mutual good faith; because we are pleased to observe the Good Neighbor Policy carried on by your Government; because it evidences the respect which the Government of the United States holds towards our own and the sovereign rights of all peoples, I have not hesitated to declare, publicly, that we Cubans consider as the indisputable leader of our times the President of the United

States, by whose forcefulness, talent and valor, we, who desire the triumph of Democracy over the arms and deeds that are designed to vilify with violence and brutality the human conscience, are guided, I toast, Mr. President, your health and success.

(this translation received at  
the White House from the State  
Department March 3, 1944)

THE PRESIDENT'S  
CHRISTMAS GREETING TO THE NATION  
FROM THE SOUTH PORTICO OF THE WHITE HOUSE  
UPON THE OCCASION  
OF THE  
NATIONAL COMMUNITY CHRISTMAS TREE  
CEREMONIES  
DECEMBER 24, 1942, 4.00 P.M., E.W.T.  
RADIO BROADCAST

This year, my friends, I am speaking on Christmas Eve not to this gathering at the White House only, but to all of the citizens of our Nation, to the men and women serving in our American Armed Forces, and also to those who wear the uniforms of the other United Nations.

I give you a message of cheer. I cannot say "Merry Christmas," for I think constantly of those thousands of soldiers and sailors who are in actual combat throughout the world; but I can express to you my thought that this is a happier Christmas than last year -- happier in the sense that the forces of darkness stand against us with less confidence in the success of their evil ways.

To you who toil in industry and in office -- toil for the common cause of helping to win the war, I send a message of cheer -- that you can well continue to sacrifice without recrimination and with a look of Christmas cheer -- a kindly spirit toward your fellow men.

To you who serve in uniform I also send a message of cheer -- that you are in the thoughts of your families, (and) your friends at home, and that Christmas prayers follow you wherever you may be.

To all Americans I say that loving our neighbor as we love ourselves is not enough -- that we as a Nation and as individuals will please God best by showing regard for the laws of God. There is no better way, at this Christmas time or any other time, of fostering good-will toward man than by first fostering good-will toward God. If we love Him we will keep His Commandments.



In sending Christmas Greetings to the Armed Forces and the merchant sailors of the United Nations, we include therein our pride in their bravery -- their bravery on the fighting fronts and on all the seas. But we remember in our greetings and in our pride those other men who guard remote islands and bases and will, in all probability, never come into active combat with the common enemy. They are stationed in distant places far from home. They have few contacts with the outside world, and I want them to know that their work is essential to the conduct of (the) this war -- essential to the ultimate victory -- and that we have not forgotten them.

It is significant that tomorrow -- Christmas Day -- our plants and factories will be stilled. That is not true of the other holidays that we have long been accustomed to celebrate. On all other holidays work goes on -- gladly -- for the winning of the war.

So Christmas becomes the only holiday in all the years.

I like to think that this is so because Christmas is a holy day. May all that it stands for live and grow (throughout) through all the years.

FARM MOBILIZATION DAY  
STATEMENT  
BY THE PRESIDENT  
READ BY  
ECONOMIC STABILIZATION DIRECTOR  
JAMES F. BYRNES  
OVER THE RADIO  
JANUARY 12, 1943, AT 4.30 PM., EWT.

All over the world, food from our country's farms is helping the United Nations to win this war. From the South Pacific to the winter front in Russia, from North Africa to India, American food is giving strength to the men on the battle lines, and sometimes also to the men and women working behind the lines. Somewhere on every continent the food ships from this country are the life-line of the forces that fight for freedom. This afternoon we have heard from some of the military and civilian fighters who look to us for food. No words of mine can add to what they have said.

But on this farm mobilization day I want to round out the picture and tell you a little more about the vital place that American farmers hold in the entire war strategy of the United Nations.

Food is a weapon in total war -- fully as important in its way as guns or planes or tanks. So are other products of the farm. The long-staple cotton that goes into parachutes, for example, the oils that go into paints for the ships and planes and guns, the grains that go into alcohol to make explosives, also are weapons.

Our enemies know the use of food in war. They employ it cold-bloodedly to strengthen their own fighters and workers and to weaken or exterminate the peoples of the conquered countries. We of the United Nations also are using food as a weapon to keep our fighting men fit and

to maintain the health of all our civilian families. We are using food to earn the friendship of people in liberated areas and to serve as a promise and an encouragement to peoples who are not yet free. Already, in North Africa, the food we are sending the inhabitants is saving the energies and the lives of our troops there. In short we are using food, both in this country and in allied countries with the single aim of helping to win this war.

Already it is taking a lot of food to fight the war. It is going to take a lot more to win the final victory and win the peace that will follow. In terms of total food supply the United Nations are far stronger than our enemies. But our great food resources are scattered to the ends of the earth -- from Australia and New Zealand to South Africa and the Americas -- and we no longer have food to waste. Food is precious, just as oil and steel are precious. As part of our global strategy, we must produce all we can of every essential farm product; we must divide our supplies wisely and use them carefully. We cannot afford to waste any of them.

Therefore the United Nations are pooling their food resources and using them where they will do the most good. Canada is sending large shipments of cheese, meats and other foods on the short North Atlantic run to Britain. Australia and New Zealand are providing a great deal of the food for American soldiers stationed in that part of the world. Food from Latin America is going to Britain.

Every food producing country among the United Nations is doing its share. Our own share in food strategy, especially at this stage of the war, is large, because we have such great resources for production;

and we are on direct ocean lanes to North Africa, to Britain and to the northern ports of Russia.

American farmers must feed our own growing army and navy. They must feed the civilian families of this country and feed them well. They must help feed the fighting men and some of the war workers of Britain and Russia and, to a lesser degree, those of other allied countries.

So this year, as never before, the entire nation is looking to its farmers. Many quarters of the free world are looking to them too. American farmers are a small group with a great task. Although 60 percent of the world's population are farm people, only 2 percent of that population are American farmers. But that 2 percent have the skill and the energy to make this country the United Nations greatest arsenal for food and fiber.

In spite of the handicaps under which American farmers worked last year, the production victory they won was among the major victories of the United Nations in 1942. Free people everywhere can be grateful to the farm families who made that victory possible.

This year the American farmer's task is greater, and the obstacles more formidable. But I know that once more our farmers will rise to their responsibility.

This farm mobilization is the first day ever dedicated by a President to the farm people of the nation. I know that the whole country joins with me in a tribute to the work farmers already have done, in a pledge of full support in the difficult task which lies ahead for farmers, and in a prayer for good weather to make farmers' efforts more fruitful.



Our fighting men and allies, and our families here at home  
can rely on farmers for the food and other farm products that will help  
to bring victory.

(signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

A  
MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT  
BROADCAST  
IN CONNECTION WITH THE  
OBSERVANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S BIRTHDAY  
AND THE  
NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR INFANTILE PARALYSIS  
JANUARY 30, 1943, AT 11.30 P.M., E.W.T.

READ BY MRS. ROOSEVELT

Following an address by the Honorable Basil O'Connor, President of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Mr. O'Connor said:

I now present to you Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who will give you a message she has just received from the President of the United States of America.

Mrs. Roosevelt.

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MRS. ROOSEVELT: Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. I have just received the following message from the President, which he has asked that I read to you in his absence:

"Please tell all of those who are helping so much in the great fight against infantile paralysis, that even though the visits I have been making in certain distant parts prevent my return to the Capital today, they are giving me once again a truly happy birthday.

"Tonight we are waging two wars, both in the service of humanity and both of them headed for victory."

(applause)

(the singing in chorus of "Happy Birthday, Mr. President, Happy Birthday To You" followed)

(this broadcast occurred during the airplane trip of the President to North Africa, January 9 through 31, 1943, for conferences with Prime Minister Winston Churchill, the French leaders Giraud and De Gaulle, and British and American military men)

ADDRESS  
OF THE  
PRESIDENT  
ON  
GEORGE WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY  
FEBRUARY 22, 1943  
RADIO BROADCAST AT 10.30 P.M., E.W.T.

Ladies and gentlemen:

Today this nation, which George Washington helped so greatly to create, is fighting all over this earth in order to maintain for ourselves and for our children the freedom which George Washington helped so greatly to achieve. As we celebrate (Washington's) his birthday, let us remember how he conducted himself in the midst of great adversities. We are inclined, because of the total sum of his accomplishments, to forget his days of trial.

Throughout the Revolution, Washington commanded an army whose very existence as an army was never a certainty from one week to another. Some of his soldiers, and even whole regiments, could not or would not move outside (of) the borders of their own States. Sometimes, at critical moments, they would decide to return to their individual homes to get the plowing done, or the crops harvested. Large numbers of the people of the colonies were either against independence or at least unwilling to make great personal sacrifice toward its attainment.

And there were many in every colony who were willing to cooperate with Washington only if the cooperation was based on their own terms.



Some Americans during the War of the Revolution sneered at the very principles of the Declaration of Independence. It was impractical, they said -- it was "idealistic" -- to claim that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights."

The skeptics and the cynics of Washington's day did not believe that ordinary men and women have the capacity for freedom and self-government. They said that liberty and equality were idle dreams that could not come true -- just as today there are many Americans who sneer at the determination to attain freedom from want and freedom from fear, on the ground that these are ideals which can never be realized. They say it is ordained that we must always have poverty, and that we must always have war.

You know, they are like the people who carp at the Ten Commandments because some people are in the habit of breaking one or more of them.

We Americans of today know that there would have been no successful outcome to the Revolution, even after eight long years -- the Revolution that (which) gave us liberty -- had it not been for George Washington's faith, and the fact that that faith overcame the bickerings and confusion and the doubts which the skeptics and cynics provoked.

When kind history books tell us of Benedict Arnold, they omit dozens of other Americans who, beyond peradventure of a doubt, were also guilty of treason.

We know that it was Washington's simple, steadfast

faith that kept him to the essential principles of first things first. His sturdy sense of proportion brought to him and his followers the ability to discount the smaller difficulties and concentrate on the larger objectives. And the objectives of the American Revolution were so large -- so unlimited -- that today they are among the primary objectives of the entire civilized world.

It was Washington's faith -- and, with it, his hope and his charity -- which was responsible for the stamina of Valley Forge -- (and) responsible for the prayer at Valley Forge.

The Americans of Washington's day were at war. We Americans of today are at war.

The Americans of Washington's day faced defeat on many occasions. We faced, and still face, reverses and misfortunes.

In 1777, the victory over General Burgoyne's Army at Saratoga led thousands of Americans to throw their hats in the air, proclaiming that the war was practically won and that they (could) should go back to their peacetime occupations -- and, shall I say, their peacetime "normalcies."

Today, the great successes on the Russian front have led thousands of Americans to throw their hats in the air and proclaim that victory is just around the corner.

Others among us still believe in the age of miracles. They forget that there is no Joshua in our midst. We cannot count on great walls crumbling and falling down when the

trumpets blow and the people(s) shout.

It is not enough that we have faith and that we have hope. Washington himself was the exemplification of the other great need.

Would that all of us could live our lives and direct our thoughts and control our tongues as did the Father of our Country in seeking day by day to follow those great verses:

"Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up,

"Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil:

"Rejoiceth not in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth."

I think that most of us Americans seek to live up to those precepts. But there are some among them -- some among us who have forgotten them. There are Americans whose words and writings are trumpeted -- trumpeted by our enemies to persuade the disintegrating people of Germany and Italy and their captives that America is disunited -- that America will be guilty of faithlessness in this war, and will thus enable the Axis Powers to control the earth.

It is perhaps fitting that on this day I should read a few more words spoken many years ago -- words which helped to shape the character and the career of George Washington, words that lay behind the prayer at Valley Forge.

"Blessed are the poor in spirit: for their's is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

"Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

"Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

"Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

"Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

"Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

"Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for their's is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

"Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."

Those are the truths which are the eternal heritage of our civilization. I repeat them, to give heart and comfort to all men and women everywhere who fight for freedom.

Those truths inspired Washington, and the men and women of the thirteen colonies.

Today, through all the darkness that has descended upon our nation and our world, those truths are a guiding light to all.

We shall follow that light, as our forefathers did, to the fulfillment of our hopes for victory, for freedom, and for peace.



AMERICAN RED CROSS APPEAL  
OF THE PRESIDENT  
RADIO BROADCAST  
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1943  
AT 4.15 PM, EWT

Read By Norman H. Davis

(Chairman, American Red Cross)

(Due to illness of the President)

Just a few weeks ago I was privileged to visit a part of the North African theatre of war, and to see and talk with our soldiers and sailors who man that front. Among these men in North Africa are the sons and brothers and husbands and friends of many of you who are listening at this moment. I wish it were somehow possible to share my experience with you, because I know what it would mean to you to have the chance to clasp the hand of some relative or friend thousands of miles from home, and to wish him well.

There is one way for you, however, to reach this hand of love and friendship across the ocean. For wherever our fighting men are -- all over the world -- the American Red Cross is by their side, extending always the arm of helpfulness and comfort.

At home, we have grown accustomed to the role of the Red Cross in every national emergency, in every local catastrophe -- a generous friend to those overtaken by tragedy. Even our enemies know about the American Red Cross, because it has never let international boundaries act as the limits of its mercy.

The American Red Cross begins today the greatest

single crusade of mercy in all history. It is undertaking a task unprecedented -- because this war is unprecedented. We undertake this greatest of all Red Cross crusades in the name of mercy -- now that we are engaged in a war to decide whether all our concepts of mercy and human decency are strong enough to survive.

In the Axis nations, mercy and decency are regarded as synonyms for weakness and decadence.

In our land it is from our great tradition of mercy that we take part of our strength.

Each one of you who has a friend or relative in uniform will measure the significance of this crusade in your own heart. You -- at your house today -- know better than anyone else what it means to be sure that the Red Cross stands at the side of our soldiers or sailors or marines wherever they may be. All of us -- one hundred and thirty millions -- know how indispensable to victory is the work of this great agency which goes on every minute of every day -- everywhere on earth where it is needed.

By proclamation, I have designated the month of March as Red Cross Month. To make sure that every American boy on every fighting front has everything he needs which the Red Cross can supply, it will require at least one hundred and twenty-five million dollars.

That is all that we need to know -- we will not fail.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
AT THE CLOSE OF THE INFORMAL RECEPTION HE HELD  
IN THE STATE DINING ROOM AT THE WHITE HOUSE  
FOR NEW SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
78TH CONGRESS

MARCH 10, 1943, AT 8.30 P.M., E.W.T.

(126 INVITED GUESTS WERE PRESENT)

(Speaker Sam Rayburn, who had acted all evening as a sort of "master of ceremonies," rapped on a chair for attention)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Speaker! (laughter)

SPEAKER RAYBURN: Mr. President, you have given us a grand party, and we have all enjoyed it. You have met Senators and Members here tonight that it is hard for you to meet.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know why "Father" Rayburn wants to put you all to bed so early. (laughter)

SPEAKER RAYBURN: Well now, it has been perfectly grand for us all too, I know, for the new Members -- 108 of them -- to meet and greet you, and we have enjoyed it very, very much. It is most gracious and fine of you to do it.

And now, if you want to say "good-night" to us in any form which you desire, why we are all ready.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Sam, and all the rest of you "freshmen" -- some of whom are older than I am! -- (laughter) -- it's grand to make your acquaintance.

You know, during the last Congress things were pretty

busy at the White House, and I honestly believe there were -- Oh -- 20 to 30, 30 to 40 of the new Congressmen in the last Session whom I never met at all.

I know perfectly well that you realize some of my problems. You don't really get the truth from the columnists, because they say that I am overburdened and overworked. I am not working as hard, so far as appointments go -- so far as seeing people goes -- as I did before the war started -- nothing like it.

Now I haven't an excess of "gray matter," but I do have to have a little bit more time to think and to read. The amount of literature that I get from -- Oh -- the General Staff, the needs of the Army, and Manpower, the size of the Army and Navy, and things like that, the amount of stuff that I have to read today does take an awful lot of time. And it makes my schedule in the morning -- when I see people -- it limits that schedule to about five or six people -- five or six different appointments in the course of the morning, instead of the ten or fifteen, or twice as many as I used to put in before the war. And that honestly is the only reason that I can't see you people -- Senate and House -- as much or as often as I used to. It isn't because of any greater burden on me, but it's the necessity of doing more reading. In some ways I feel as if I had gone back to school. As far as the work goes, it isn't any heavier, but it's a little bit different character of work.

And so I know that you will bear with me and be lenient, if it takes any of you who want to see me about something important a long, long time before you can get in. You will have to



take the will for the deed. I am doing the best I can. I do wish to goodness that I had more time, as I did before, to see personally the Members of the House and Senate.

I think that part of it is my fault, so my Secretaries tell me. When somebody comes in on a ten-minute appointment, I start to do the talking. (laughter) I get enthusiastic, and the result is that at the end of ten or fifteen minutes my visitor hasn't had a chance to get in a word edgewise. (laughter) And that is something I am trying to school myself to omit, to try to let the other fellow talk, instead of my doing it. And that is about the hardest thing I have to do in this life, because as most of you people -- some of you who have been here before, you all know I love to talk. It's an unfortunate characteristic.

So I say, please bear with me, and if you do come in, say to me quite frankly, "Now listen, before you talk, Mr. President, let me have my say." (laughter) I think it would be a grand thing.

I do hope, honestly, that you will come in and see me, just as often as you can get by! (more laughter)

It's grand to see you. Thanks ever so much for coming.

(applause for the President)

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT  
READ BY VICE PRESIDENT WALLACE  
AT THE LUNCHEON GIVEN BY  
LEND-LEASE ADMINISTRATOR STETTINIUS  
IN RECOGNITION OF THE  
SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF LEND-LEASE  
BROADCAST NATIONALLY  
MARCH 11, 1943

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.....  
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Two years ago, on March 11, 1941, the Lend-Lease Act was approved.

Hitler had promised his people that this war would be a short one, a single front war -- that our aid would be too little and too late.

Such also were the promises of the military Junta of Japan.

Time has given the lie to their promises.

Our promises have stood the test of time.

For today, as we observe the second anniversary of the Lend-Lease Act, the United Nations are on the offensive.

Two years ago the question was -- where would the Axis strike next? Now, the question is -- where will the United Nations strike next? The enemy will receive its answers on battlefields of our own choosing.

As we strike again and again, Lend-Lease and reciprocal aid will contribute increasingly to the inevitable defeat of the Axis.

And this mutual aid has become more than a joint weapon of war. In the smoke of battle, Lend-Lease is helping to forge the unity that will be required to make a just and lasting peace.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

A D D R E S S    O f   T h e   P r e s i d e n t  
January 11, 1944  
At 9.00 P.M., E.W.T.  
Broadcast Nationally

Ladies and gentlemen:

Today I sent my Annual Message to the Congress, as required by the Constitution. It has been my custom to deliver these Annual Messages in person, and they have been broadcast to the Nation. I intended to follow this same custom this year.

But, like a great many other people (of my fellow countrymen), I have had the "flu" and, although I am practically recovered, my Doctor simply would not permit me to leave the White House to (and) go up to the Capitol.

Only a few of the newspapers of the United States can print the Message in full, and I am (very) anxious that the American people be given an opportunity to hear what I have recommended to the Congress for this very fateful year in our history -- and the reasons for those recommendations. Here is what I said:

This Nation in the past two years has become an active partner in the world's greatest war against human slavery.

We have joined with like-minded people in order to defend ourselves in a world that has been gravely threatened with gangster rule.

But I do not think that any of us Americans can



be content with mere survival. Sacrifices that we and our Allies are making impose upon us all a sacred obligation to see to it that out of this war we and our children will gain something better than mere survival.

We are united in determination that this war shall not be followed by another interim which leads to new disaster -- that we shall not repeat the tragic errors of ostrich isolationism.

When Mr. Hull went to Moscow in October, (and) when I went to Cairo and Teheran in November, we knew that we were in agreement with our Allies in our common determination to fight and win this war. (But) There were many vital questions concerning the future peace, and they were discussed in an atmosphere of complete candor and harmony.

In the last war such discussions, such meetings, did not even begin until the shooting had stopped and the delegates began to assemble at the peace table. There had been no previous opportunities for man-to-man discussions which lead to meetings of minds. And the result was a peace which was not a peace.

And right here I want to address a word or two to some suspicious souls who are fearful that Mr. Hull or I have made "commitments" for the future which might pledge this Nation to secret treaties, or to enacting the role of a world Santa Claus.

Of course, we made some commitments. We most certainly committed ourselves to very large and very specific

military plans which require the use of all allied forces to bring about the defeat of our enemies at the earliest possible time.

But there were no secret treaties or political or financial commitments.

The one supreme objective for the future, which we discussed for each nation individually, and for all the United Nations, can be summed up in one word: Security.

And that means not only physical security which provides safety from attacks by aggressors. It means also economic security, social security, moral security -- in a family of nations.

In the plain down-to-earth talks that I had with the Generalissimo and Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, it was abundantly clear that they are all most deeply interested in the resumption of peaceful progress by their own peoples -- progress toward a better life.

All our Allies have learned by experience -- bitter experience that real development will not be possible if they are to be diverted from their purpose by repeated wars -- or even threats of war.

The best interests of each nation, large and small, demand that all freedom-loving nations shall join together in a just and durable system of peace. In the present world situation, evidenced by the actions of Germany, and Italy and Japan, unquestioned military control over the disturbers of the peace is as necessary among nations as it is among

citizens in any (a) community. And an equally basic essential to peace -- permanent peace -- is a decent standard of living for all individual men and women and children in all nations. Freedom from fear is eternally linked with freedom from want.

There are people who burrow -- burrow through the (our) nation like unseeing moles, and attempt to spread the suspicion that if other nations are encouraged to raise their standards of living, our own American standard of living must of necessity be depressed.

The fact is the very contrary. It has been shown time and again that if the standard of living of any country goes up, so does its purchasing power -- and that such a rise encourages a better standard of living in neighboring countries with whom it trades. That is just plain common sense -- and (it) is the kind of plain common sense that provided the basis for our discussions at Moscow, and Cairo and Teheran.

Returning from my journeyings, I must confess to a sense of being "let down" when I found many evidences of faulty perspectives here in Washington. The faulty perspective consists in over-emphasizing lesser problems and thereby under-emphasizing the first and greatest problem.

The overwhelming majority of our people have met the demands of this war with magnificent courage and a great deal of understanding. They have accepted inconveniences; they have accepted hardships; they have accepted tragic sacrifices.

However, while the majority goes on about its great work without complaint, we all know that a noisy minority



maintains an uproar, an uproar of demands for special favors for special groups. There are pests who swarm through the lobbies of the Congress and the cocktail bars of Washington, representing these special groups as opposed to the basic interests of the Nation as a whole. They have come to look upon the war primarily as a chance to make profits for themselves at the expense of their neighbors -- profits in money or profits in terms of political or social preferment.

Such selfish agitation can be and is highly dangerous in wartime. It creates confusion. It damages morale. It hampers our national effort. It prolongs the war.

In this war, we have been compelled to learn how interdependent upon each other are all groups and sections of the whole population of America.

Increased food costs, for example, will bring new demands for wage increases from all war workers, which will in turn raise all prices of all things including those things which the farmers themselves have to buy. Increased wages or prices will each in turn produce the same results. They all have a particularly disastrous result on all fixed income groups.

And I hope you will remember that all of us in this Government, including myself, represent the fixed income group just as much as we represent business owners, or workers or (and) farmers. This group of fixed-income people include: teachers, and clergy, and policemen, and firemen, and widows and minors who are on fixed incomes, wives and dependents



of our soldiers and sailors, and old age pensioners. They and their families add up to more than a (one) quarter of our one hundred and thirty million people. They have few or no high pressure representatives at the Capitol. And in a period of gross inflation they would be the worst sufferers. Let us give them an occasional thought.

If ever there was a time to subordinate individual or group selfishness for (to) the national good, that time is now. Disunity at home, and (--) bickerings, self-seeking partisanship, stoppages of work, inflation, business as usual, politics as usual, luxury as usual -- and sometimes a failure to tell the whole truth -- these are the influences which can undermine the morale of the brave men ready to die at the front for us here.

Those who are doing most of the complaining, I do not think that they are (not) deliberately striving to sabotage the national war effort. They are laboring under the delusion that the time is past when we must make prodigious sacrifices -- that the war is already won and we can begin to slacken off. But the dangerous folly of that point of view can be measured by the distance that separates our troops from their ultimate objectives in Berlin and Tokyo -- and by the sum of all the perils that lie along the way.

Over-confidence and complacency are among our deadliest of all enemies.

And that attitude on the part of anyone -- Government or management or labor -- can lengthen this war. It can

kill American boys.

Let us remember the lessons of 1918. In the summer of that year the tide turned in favor of the Allies. But this Government did not relax, nor did the American people. In fact, our national effort was stepped up. In August, 1918, the draft age limits were broadened from 21 to (-) 31 all the way to 18 to (-) 45. The President called for "force to the utmost," and his call was heeded. And in November, only three months later, Germany surrendered.

That is the way to fight and win a war -- all out -- and not with half-an-eye on the battlefronts abroad and the other eye-and-a-half on personal selfish, or political interests here at home.

Therefore, in order to concentrate all of our energies, all of our (and) resources on winning this (the) war, and to maintain a fair and stable economy at home, I recommend that the Congress adopt:

First, (1) A realistic and simplified tax law -- which will tax all unreasonable profits, both individual and corporate, and reduce the ultimate cost of the war to our sons and our daughters. The tax bill now under consideration by the Congress does not begin to meet this test.

Secondly, (2) A continuation of the law for the re-negotiation of war contracts -- which will prevent exorbitant profits and assure fair prices to the Government. For two long years I have pleaded with the Congress to take undue profits out of war.

Third, (3) A cost of food law -- which will enable the Government ( (a) ) to place a reasonable floor under the prices the farmer may expect for his production; and ( (b) ) to place a ceiling on the prices the (a) consumer will have to pay for the necessary food he buys. This should apply, as I have intimated, to necessities only; and this will require public funds to carry it out. It will cost in appropriations about one percent of the present annual cost of the war.

Fourth, (4) An early re-enactment of the stabilization statute of October, 1942. This expires this year, June 30th, 1944, and if it is not extended well in advance, the country might just as well expect price chaos by summertime.

We cannot have stabilization by wishful thinking. We must take positive action to maintain the integrity of the American dollar.

And fifth, (5) A national service law -- which, for the duration of the war, will prevent strikes, and, with certain appropriate exceptions, will make available for war production or for any other essential services every able-bodied adult in this whole Nation.

These five measures together form a just and equitable whole. I would not recommend a national service law unless the other laws were passed to keep down the cost of living, to share equitably the burdens of taxation, to hold the stabilization line, and to prevent undue profits.

The Federal Government already has the basic power to draft capital and property of all kinds for war purposes



on a basis of just compensation.

And, as you know, I have for three years hesitated to recommend a national service act. Today, however, with all the experience we have behind us and with us, I am convinced of its necessity. Although I believe that we and our Allies can win the war without such a measure, I am certain that nothing less than total mobilization of all our resources of manpower and capital will guarantee an earlier victory, and reduce the toll of suffering and sorrow and blood.

As some of my advisers wrote me the other day:

"When the very life of the nation is in peril the responsibility for service is common to all men and women. In such a time there can be no discrimination between the men and women who are assigned by the Government to its defense at the battlefield and the men and women assigned to producing the vital materials that are essential to successful military operations. A prompt enactment of a National Service Law would be merely an expression of the universality of this American responsibility."

I believe the country will agree that those statements are the solemn truth.

National service is the most democratic way to wage a war. Like selective service for the armed forces, it rests on the obligation of each citizen to serve his nation to his utmost where he is best qualified.

It does not mean reduction in wages. It does not mean loss of retirement and seniority rights and benefits.



It does not mean that any substantial numbers of war workers will be disturbed in their present jobs. Let this (these) fact(s) be wholly clear.

There are millions of American men and women who are not in this war at all. That (It) is not because they do not want to be in it. But they want to know where they can best do their share. National service provides that direction.

I know that all civilian war workers will be glad to be able to say many years hence to their grandchildren: "Yes, I, too, was in service in the great war. I was on duty in an airplane factory, and I helped to make hundreds of fighting planes. The Government told me that in doing that I was performing my most useful work in the service of my country."

It is argued that we have passed the stage in the war where national service is necessary. But our soldiers and sailors know that this is not true. We are going forward on a long, rough road -- and, in all journeys, the last miles are the hardest. And it is for that final effort -- for the total defeat of our enemies -- that we must mobilize our total resources. The national war program calls for the employment of more people in 1944 than in 1943.

And it is my conviction that the American people will welcome this win-the-war measure which is based on the eternally just principle of "fair for one, fair for all."

It will give our people at home the assurance that they are standing four-square behind our soldiers and sailors. And it will give our enemies demoralizing assurance that we

mean business -- that we, one hundred and thirty million Americans, are on the march to Rome, and Berlin and Tokyo.

I hope that the Congress will recognize that, although this is a political year, national service is an issue which transcends politics. Great power must be used for great purposes.

As to the machinery for this measure, the Congress itself should determine its nature -- as long as (but) it is (should be) wholly non-partisan in its make-up.

Several alleged reasons have prevented the enactment of legislation which would preserve for our soldiers and sailors and marines the fundamental prerogative of citizenship -- in other words, the right to vote. No amount of legalistic argument can becloud this issue in the eyes of these ten million American citizens. Surely the signers of the Constitution did not intend a document which, even in wartime, would be construed to take away the franchise of any of those who are fighting to preserve the Constitution itself.

Our soldiers and sailors and marines know that the overwhelming majority of them will be deprived of the opportunity to vote, if the voting machinery is left exclusively to the States under existing State laws -- and that there is no likelihood of these laws being changed in time to enable them to vote at the next election. The Army and Navy have reported that it will be impossible effectively to administer forty-eight different soldier-voting laws. It is the duty of the Congress to remove this unjustifiable discrimination against

the men and women in our armed forces -- and to do it just as quickly as possible.

It is our duty now to begin to lay the plans and determine the strategy. More than the winning of the war, it is time to begin plans and determine the strategy for (the) winning (of) a lasting peace and the establishment of an American standard of living higher than ever (before) known before.

This Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights -- among them the right of free speech, free press, free worship, trial by jury, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

We have come to a clear realization of the fact, however, that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. "Necessitous men are not free men." People who are hungry, people who are (and) out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all -- regardless of station, or race or creed.

Among these are:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food



and clothing and recreation;

The right of (every) farmers to raise and sell their (his) products at a return which will give them (him) and their (his) families (family) a decent living;

The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, and sickness, and accident and unemployment;

And finally, the right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for all our citizens. For unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

One of the great American industrialists of our day -- a man who has rendered yeoman service to his country in this crisis -- recently emphasized the grave dangers of "rightist reaction" in this Nation. All clear-thinking business men share that (his) concern. Indeed, if such reaction



should develop -- if history were to repeat itself and we were to return to the so-called "normalcy" of the 1920's -- then it is certain that even though we shall have conquered our enemies on the battlefields abroad, we shall have yielded to the spirit of fascism here at home.

I ask the Congress to explore the means for implementing this economic bill of rights -- for it is definitely the responsibility of the Congress so to do, and the country knows it. Many of these problems are already before committees of the Congress in the form of proposed legislation. I shall from time to time communicate with the Congress with respect to these and further proposals. In the event that no adequate program of progress is evolved, I am certain that the Nation will be conscious of the fact.

Our fighting men abroad -- and their families at home -- expect such a program and have the right to insist on (upon) it. It is to their demands that this Government should pay heed, rather than to the whining demands of selfish pressure groups who seek to feather their nests while young Americans are dying.

I have often said that there are no two fronts for America in this war. There is only one front. There is one line of unity that (which) extends from the hearts of (the) people at home to the men of our attacking forces in our farthest outposts. When we speak of our total effort, we speak of the factory and the field and the mine as well as (of) the battlefield (ground) -- we speak of the soldier and the

civilian, the citizen and his Government.

Each and every one of them (us) has a solemn obligation under God to serve this Nation in its most critical hour -- to keep this Nation great -- to make this Nation greater in a better world.

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS  
OF THE  
P R E S I D E N T  
ON THE PORTICO OUTSIDE HIS OFFICE  
IN CONNECTION WITH THE  
SECOND WAR LOAN DRIVE  
APRIL 7, 1943, 11.15 AM, EWT

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SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY MORGENTHAU: On the 12th of April, the Treasury Department is offering the people of America the opportunity to lend their support to our fighting men in the great spring offensives by subscribing 13 billion dollars to our Second War Loan.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Secretary, this is just a small cross-section of the White House staff, but we are like a great many other American houses throughout the country, most of us have got some member of the family in the fighting forces of the United States. And we back home are trying to do our bit too. We subscribe.

If I might paraphrase the slogan of this new Drive to maintain the war and turn out more things for our troops at the front -- the slogan is for us: They gave their lives. We lend our money.

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(when the President made a re-run for the newsreels, he said, "They give their lives. We lend our money.")

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INFORMAL REMARKS  
OF THE  
P R E S I D E N T  
AT  
PARRIS ISLAND  
APRIL 14, 1943

Major General Emil P. Moses, USMC, Commanding General:

Men, you are about to be spoken to by your Commander in Chief, the President of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT:

Men, I congratulate you on being Marines.

I have followed the Marine Corps many, many years. It was just thirty years ago that I was here at Port Royal. I have seen you in Haiti, Santo Domingo, in France, and on the Rhine. Some of you men may not appreciate it, but I was not in the Halls of Montezuma or on the Shores of Tripoli.

I congratulate you on the fine work being done here. You are a credit to the Marine Corps. I can't say more than that.

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T O A S T Of The President  
At The State Dinner For  
President Isaias Medina Angarita of Venezuela  
January 19, 1944  
(With President Medina's Reply)

THE PRESIDENT:

Let me go back to my early days. I want to tell you of two episodes of my college days. I don't think this first one has been written down, and I don't think even the Secretary of State knows it.

In 1893, I think it was, Great Britain attempted to take, in effect by force of arms, Venezuelan Guiana, in spite of a rather well-established boundary going back for many generations. Hence there came along a thing called the Venezuelan episode. And in a letter that was written, I think by Secretary of State Olney, but actually written and signed in its original by President Cleveland, it was translated from the State Department to our Ambassador in London, Thomas F. Bayard.

The Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs at that time in England was Lord Salisbury. My older half-brother was the Counselor of the Embassy in London. And this letter came over the wires, I suppose in code, and he put it into English with his hair rising as he translated it. It was President Cleveland's Venezuelan message, which in effect told Great Britain that she couldn't have any more territory on the American continent.

When the translation was done, he took it into

Ambassador Bayard, and said, "I have something pretty important, Mr. Ambassador, with the direction that you take it to Lord Salisbury at once."

Ambassador Bayard read it, and he said, "That means war between the United States and Great Britain. I will not deliver it."

And my brother said, "Mr. Ambassador, you have got to deliver it, it's from the President and the Secretary of State. You have got to deliver it."

The Ambassador said, "I won't deliver it. I will not be responsible for a war between Great Britain and the United States."

And my brother said to him, "If you will not deliver it, I will have to telegraph back for instructions to the Secretary of State. What am I going to do?"

Well, after lunch, the Ambassador sent for my brother and said, "All right. I will deliver it. But I am going to leave for Scotland this afternoon. I am going to get out of the way."

So sure enough, Mr. Bayard went around to see Lord Salisbury after lunch -- my brother was standing back -- and he walked into Lord Salisbury's room at the Foreign Office and said, "Mr. Minister, there it is. I hope you can do something that will stop short of war, but it is terribly serious. I don't want to go to war, and neither do you. What about Venezuela? But the President means that you can't have any more land on the American continent. Goodbye." And he left

for Scotland that afternoon. Well, that was my first connection with Venezuela.

The other episode is perhaps not as historically important. When I was in college, in my senior year, I went down with my room-mate on one of those I am sorry to say German cruises down through the West Indies. And we got down to Caracas and stopped there. And my room-mate and I went up to the clerk of the hotel and said, "What's doing tonight? We want to go to a cafe, some place where they have dancing." I don't know what they would call it today, but probably a different name.

And the clerk said, "Oh, you can't do that. You have got to go to the opera."

My room-mate and I said, "We didn't come to Caracas to go to the opera."

He said, "But you must. Everybody is going to the opera, they are giving Pagliacci." Well, I had been to the opera with my mother several times. I said, "I have never heard of Pagliacci."

"But," he said, "the great artist is singing."

I said, "I don't care."

"But," he said, "it's Caruso."

I said, "I never heard of him."

In New York nobody had ever heard of him, and yet at that time Caruso was considered the greatest tenor in all the world, he had sung at Caracas before, in Buenos Aires, in Rio and in Lima, I think. He was one of the great singers known



to all South America.

So because there was nowhere else to go, we went to the opera. And he was perfectly marvelous.

After we got back to New York, I talked to some of my musical friends about Caruso and Pagliacci, but they had never heard of him. Years later, Caruso was taken on by the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York, and of course became the greatest tenor of all time. But I have always said that my room-mate and I discovered Caruso. (laughter)

So at least I can say that I have seen Venezuela; and President Medina has been in the United States, I think it was four years ago, and at that time he saw the beginning -- before we got into the war -- of what we were preparing against. I think that if he will multiply by ten times the production that he saw four years ago, he will have a very good idea of what we are doing now.

And yet out of what we are doing now in this country in the way of production, it is still literally impossible for us to take a part of that production to fill the well-merited, great essential plans which Venezuela has for the development of the future. We haven't got to that time yet, but we are going to do it just as soon as our own production gets up a little beyond our actual needs for the war. May that time come very soon.

I have always been interested in our sister Republics, for one reason especially, from an historic point again, the fact that there were two great liberators -- essentially two



-- on the whole of the hemisphere: our own George Washington, and the Venezuelan Bolivar, who after all was responsible not merely for setting up one Republic but of many -- Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. Bolivar is taking his place in our school books, and his proper place in history. And I wish much that I could go down there and see the wonderful shrine that has been erected over Bolivar there, because it doesn't belong just to Venezuela it belongs to all the Americas. Some day people are going to go there to his home town, or his actual homestead, just as much as they come here to Washington or Mount Vernon.

I can say this, that in all these years, even from the early days when a thing called the Miranda expedition was fitted out in New York, when we were completely un-neutral, when we were trying to help Venezuela to obtain its own independence against Spain, all through these years, nearly a century and a half now, we have had an association, a relationship with Venezuela -- and in a good many tight places, too -- where the spirit, the purpose, the objectives between our two nations have been identical.

And I hope much -- I believe -- that that relationship is going to go on through all the years, because the objectives are identical.

It is a very great honor, and a very great pleasure, to have President Medina here with us tonight. He knows the United States. I wish I knew Venezuela as well. Venezuela has a great future. It is a country not only of magnificent

resources, but a nation which has done so magnificently in so many ways during its very long history of independence that Venezuela, in the future of the Americas, is going to lead a very paramount role with the United States.

And so I think we might well drink the health, the prosperity and better knowledge of a future day, to President Medina.

(the Toast was drunk)

PRESIDENT MEDINA: (translation)

Although I have no anecdote to relate, I appreciate the friendly and informal language of President Roosevelt.

On behalf of Venezuela, a very difficult moment in the history of which country President Roosevelt recalled, I come to express a sincere and sure friendship for the United States. Our friendship is sure, for we do not offer what we cannot fulfill.

I was particularly interested in the President's recollection of the role played by his brother in the defense of our just cause at the time of our difficulties with the British. I did not know of this episode, and I am glad to have this opportunity of applauding the memory of the President's brother.

Venezuela is a young country, rich in possibilities, and with a noble tradition. It has constantly distinguished itself in the defense of just causes, and in the love and affection which it has for the United States.

The resources of my country have been placed at the disposal of the United Nations. Following Pearl Harbor, I was the first President to state the attitude of my country, and to place Venezuela at the side of the United States.

President Roosevelt has eloquently set forth his willingness to help us to develop Venezuela. I wish to assure him that Venezuela is a country of stable institutions, ready to accept and to welcome foreign capital.

When peace comes, Venezuela is ready to contribute to the formation of a new world, where nations great and small will live and cooperate together in a spirit of equality and justice. We do not fear the great power of the United States, because we confide in your ideals of justice and democracy.

(President Medina then drank to the health of President Roosevelt)

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS  
OF THE  
P R E S I D E N T  
AT  
WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION  
APRIL 15, 1943

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I don't have to tell the Warm Springs family how very happy I am to be back with us again. I have really stolen these few moments -- just twenty-four hours. I am not here. You may read about it in another week. In other words, I am perpetrating what the newspapers call a "scoop" for your benefit -- seven or eight days ahead of time.

I am awfully happy in the knowledge, in the White House, that all goes well in Warm Springs. I haven't got much time, as you may realize; and I was thinking today, as we motored from Fort Benning, that the last time I was here was on the thirtieth of November, 1941. At that time, because of certain things that happened in Washington and Tokyo, I had failed to arrive on Thanksgiving Day. I came a week later, and we had a family party in this room.

The next morning, one of those psychological things happened -- what you and I would call a hunch. I telephoned to Washington to the Secretary of State, and I said to him, "You know, I am worried. I don't know why I am worried, but I am too far away from Washington."

And he said, "I know just how you feel, because I am worried too. There has been no news in the past twenty-four hours to cause additional worry, but I am just worried and I



wish you were here in Washington."

And so the next day I left here and went back. And when I got him on the phone, I said, "You know, I think we are all rather silly, but I had a feeling that something is hanging over our heads."

And just one week later came the unwarranted surprise attack on Pearl Harbor.

Well, things have gone a lot better since then. And one thing I think we can make a pretty good guess about, and that is that here at Warm Springs we are going to have, in the days to come, a great many more men in uniform. After all, infantile paralysis is not a respecter of age; and in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard, including the WAACs, WAVES and the other girls, we are going to have, out of more than seven million Americans, a good many cases of infantile paralysis, even if we don't have any great epidemic in this country.

And Warm Springs is preparing to do all it can to undertake to care for our boys in uniform, and our girls in uniform, even if we have to take -- what? -- half a hundred more patients than we think we have room for. And in doing that, we must always remember that we still have a duty to the civilian population of the country; because after all, the work we are taking part in -- doctors, patients, physiotherapists, management, and everything else -- is creating a very profound effect, not just here but all over the United States.

We are doing pioneering work, and other people

that haven't got the same advantages we have here are in large measure copying what we are doing in all the different localities, in counties and states all through the country. That means a very definite effect on the health and wellbeing of all the people throughout the nation -- grown-ups, boys and girls. And that is why I said in the White House I am very happy to know this constructive work is keeping on going at Warm Springs. I don't need to tell you that it makes my heart glad.

I can be here only for dinner. I have to leave for other parts -- training stations, camps, and everything else, just to keep in touch with the great war effort that this whole nation is engaged in.

I hope I can come back in the autumn, but that is no promise. I am not the master of my own calendar. So, I do hope to see you this autumn, and it doesn't make much difference whether it is Thanksgiving Day or not, as I find I can come here in April and still have turkey and cranberry sauce.

So I do hope to see you all very soon. And may I suggest we carry out the old tradition. I am going over by the door and stand, and meet all of you boys and girls who have come here since I was here last, and all of you other boys and girls, and Dr. Ed Irwin, Mr. Fred Botts, Cornelia Dewey and all the gang -- and that will do my heart good, too.

INFORMAL  
REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
WHILE HAVING SUPPER WITH A GROUP OF SOLDIERS  
AT  
CAMP GRUBER, OKLAHOMA,  
SUNDAY, APRIL 18, 1943

THE PRESIDENT:

I just want to take the opportunity, while I am here -- I believe you represent many units of this camp -- to tell you I was very happy at the efficient and fine appearance, both of the Division in review and the men along the route.

I want to pay special tribute to your cooks. I don't get as good a meal as that in the White House. I get only butter for breakfast -- one little pat at that.

You are very lucky to be in the Army. I am glad to be here with you. You have a fine camp. I understand you have completed your preliminary training and soon will go into more advanced work; then you will be ready for active service, in all probability overseas. Just where, I don't know. I couldn't tell you if I knew.

I congratulate all the units of Camp Gruber.

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A D D R E S S of the President  
On Behalf of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis  
Broadcast Nationally  
January 29, 1944, at 12 o'clock Midnight, E.W.T.

Ladies and gentlemen:

Tonight, on behalf of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, I wish to express heartfelt thanks to all of you who have contributed your dimes and your dollars to further the fight against a cruel disease -- a disease which strikes primarily against little children.

The generous participation of the American people in this fight is a sign of the healthy condition of our Nation. It is democracy in action. The unity of our people in helping those who are disabled, in protecting the welfare of our young, in preserving the eternal principle of kindness -- all of this is evidence of our fundamental strength -- the strength with which we are meeting our enemies throughout the world.

Early in our history, we realized that the basic wealth of our land is in its healthy, enlightened children, trained to assume the responsibilities and enjoy the privileges of a democracy. The well-being of our youth is indeed our foremost concern -- their health and happiness our enduring responsibility. If any become handicapped from any cause, we are determined that they shall be properly cared for and guided to full and useful lives.

How different it is in the lands of our enemies! In Germany and Japan, those who are handicapped in body or mind are regarded as unnecessary burdens to the state. There, an



individual's usefulness is measured solely by the direct contribution that he can make to the war machine -- not by his service to a society at peace.

The dread disease that we battle at home, like the enemy we oppose abroad, shows no concern, no pity for the young. It strikes -- with its most frequent and devastating force -- against children. And that is why much of the future strength of America depends upon the success that we achieve in combating this disease.

\*\*\*\*\* The dollars and dimes you contribute are the victory bonds that buy the ammunition for this fight against disease -- just as the war bonds you purchase help to finance the fight against tyranny.

Tonight, I am happy to receive the report that your generous aid has made possible another year of progress against this dread malady. We are prepared to fight it with the planned strategy of a military campaign -- not only because the enemy is a merciless and insidious one, but because the danger of epidemic in wartime makes this fight an actual military necessity.

The tireless men and women working night and day over test tubes and microscopes -- searching for drugs and serums, for methods that will prevent and cure -- these are (the) workers on the production line in this war against disease. The gallant chapter workers, the doctors and nurses in our hospitals, the public health officials, the volunteers who go into epidemic areas to help the physician -- these are (the)

front-line fighters.

And just as in war -- there is that subtle weapon that, more than anything else, spells victory or defeat. That weapon is morale -- the morale of a people who know that they are fighting "the good fight" -- that they are keeping the faith -- the only faith through which civilization can survive -- the faith that man must live to help and not to destroy his fellowmen.

\*\*\*\*\* (originally inserted here,  
but delivered as before)

We are engaged now in the Fourth War Bond campaign. The outpouring of American dollars in this campaign will assure that superiority of fighting equipment with which we shall blast our way to Berlin and Tokyo. It will also serve notice that we Americans are irrevocably united in determination to end this war as quickly as possible in the unconditional surrender of our enemies. Every one of us has a chance too to participate in victory by buying War Bonds.

Tonight, in the midst of a terrible war against tyranny, tyranny and savagery, it is not easy for us to celebrate. There cannot be much happiness in our hearts as we contemplate the kind of enemies we face and the very grimness of the task that (which) lies before us.

But, we may thank God that here in our country we are keeping alive the spirit of good will toward one another -- that spirit which is the very essence of the cause for which we fight.

God speed the spirit of good will.

A D D R E S S  
OF THE  
P R E S I D E N T  
AT  
MONTERREY, MEXICO  
APRIL 20, 1943  
AND NATIONALLY BROADCAST

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(President Avila Camacho of Mexico spoke first, in Spanish).

THE PRESIDENT:

Senor Presidente de La Republica Mexicana, My Friends  
and Good Neighbors:

Your Excellency's friendly and cordial expressions add to the very great pleasure that (which) I feel at being here on Mexican soil.

It is an amazing thing to have to realize that nearly thirty-four years have passed since Chief Executives of our two countries (nations) have met face to face. I hope that in the days to come every Mexican and every American President will feel at liberty to visit each other just as neighbors visit each other -- just as neighbors talk things over and get to know each other better.

Our two countries owe their independence to the fact that your ancestors and mine held the same truths to be worth fighting for and dying for. Hidalgo and Juarez were men of the same stamp as Washington and Jefferson. It was, therefore, inevitable that our two countries should find themselves



aligned -- aligned together in the great struggle which is being fought today to determine whether this world shall be (a) free or (a) slave (world).

The attacks of the Axis powers during the past few years against our common heritage as free men culminated in the unspeakable and unprovoked aggressions of December 7, 1941, and of May 14, 1942, and the shedding of blood on those dates of citizens of the United States and of Mexico alike.

Those attacks did not find the Western Hemisphere unprepared. The twenty-one free republics of the Americas during the past ten years have devised a system of international cooperation which has become a great bulwark in the defense of our heritage and the defense of our future. That system, whose strength is now evident even to the most skeptical, is based primarily upon a renunciation of the use of force, and is based on the enshrining of international justice and mutual respect as the governing rule of conduct by all nations everywhere.

In the forging of that new international policy the role of Mexico has been outstanding. Mexican Presidents and Foreign Ministers have appreciated the nature of the struggle with which we are now confronted at a time when many other nations much closer to the focus of infection were blind.

The wisdom of the measures which the Statesmen of Mexico and the United States and of the other American republics have adopted at inter-American gatherings during recent years has been amply demonstrated. They have succeeded

because they have been placed in effect, not only in (by) Mexico and the United States, but by all except one of the other American republics.

You and I, Mr. President, are (as) Commanders in Chief of our respective armed forces, and we have been able to concert measures for common defense. The harmony and the mutual confidence which has prevailed between our armies and navies is beyond praise. Brotherhood in arms has been established.

The determination of the Mexican people and of their leaders has led to production on an all-out basis of strategic and vital materials so necessary to the forging of the weapons destined to compass the final overthrow of our common foes. In this great city of Monterrey, I have been most impressed with the single-minded purpose with which all the forces of production are joined together in the war effort.

And too, Mexican farm workers, brought to the United States in accordance with the (an) agreement between our two Governments, the terms of which are fully consonant with the social objectives that we cherish together, are contributing their skill and their toil to the production of vitally needed food.

But not less important than the military cooperation and the production of supplies needed for the maintenance of our respective economies, has been the exchange of those ideas and of those moral values which give life and significance to the tremendous effort of the free peoples of the world. We

in the United States have listened with admiration and with profit to your statements and addresses, Mr. President, and to those of your distinguished Foreign Minister. We have gained inspiration and strength from your words.

In the shaping of a common victory our peoples are finding that they have common aspirations. They can work together for a common objective. Let us never lose our hold upon that truth. It contains within it the secret of future happiness and prosperity for all of us on both sides of our unfortified borders. Let us make sure that when our victory is won, when the forces of evil surrender -- and that surrender shall be unconditional -- then we, with the same spirit and with the same united courage, will face the task of the building of a better world.

There is much work still to be done by men of good will on both sides of the (our) border. The great Mexican people have their feet set upon a path of ever greater progress so that each nation may enjoy and each citizen may enjoy the greatest possible measure of security and opportunity. The Government of the United States and my countrymen are ready to help (contribute) to that progress.

We recognize a mutual interdependence of our joint resources. We know that Mexico's resources will be developed for the common good of humanity. We know that the day of the exploitation of the resources and the people of one country for the benefit of any group in another country is definitely over.

It is time that every citizen in every one of the American republics recognizes that the Good Neighbor policy means that harm to one republic means harm to each and every one of the other republics. We have all of us recognized the principle of independence. It is time that we recognize also the privilege of interdependence -- one upon another.

Mr. President, it is my hope that in the expansion of our common effort in this war and in the peace to follow we will again have occasion for friendly consultation, in order further to promote the closest understanding and continued unity of purpose between our two peoples.

We have achieved close understanding and unity of purpose, and I am grateful to you, Mr. President, and to the Mexican people, for this opportunity to meet you on Mexican soil, and -- to call you friends.

You and I are breaking another precedent. Let these meetings between Presidents of Mexico and the United States recur again and again and again.

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A D D R E S S Of The President  
At The Washington Navy Yard  
On The Occasion Of The Transfer Of The  
Destroyer Escort SENEGALAIS To The French People  
Under The Lend-Lease Act  
February 12, 1944.  
At 4.35 P.M., E.W.T.  
Broadcast Nationally

Admiral Fenard:

On behalf of the American people I transfer to the Navy of France this warship -- built by American hands in an American Navy Yard. This is one of a long line of events symbolizing the ancient friendship between France and the United States. It emphasizes the determination of this nation, and of all of the United Nations, to drive from the soil of France the Nazi invaders who today swagger down the Champs Elysees in Paris. This one transfer under the Lend-Lease Law is typical of the thousands of transfers of American-made weapons of war which have been made to our fighting allies. They are bringing closer the day of inevitable victory -- victory over our enemies on all the fronts all over the world.

No day could be more appropriate for this ceremony than the anniversary we now celebrate of the birth of that illustrious American who, in his time, struck such mighty blows for the liberty and dignity of the human race -- Abraham Lincoln.

In 1940 the Nazi invaders overran France.

Although we were still on the sidelines, we in the United States realized the horror of that catastrophe -- and the grave menace it carried to all the civilized world.

The land of France fell to the enemy, but not so the ships of France. Today her fleet still proudly flies the tricolor in battle against our common enemy. At Nettuno and Anzio in Italy, French ships were among those which bombarded the German coastal installations. In a strategic sector of the Allied line now pushing toward Rome are French troops. Yes, the Nazis on the Italian front know only too well that France is not out of this war.

And the time will soon come when the Nazis in France will learn from millions of brave Frenchmen -- now underground -- that the people of France, also, are not at all out of this war.

In a sense this transaction today can be regarded not only as lend-lease -- it might (even) be regarded as reverse lend-lease. For in the early days of our national history this situation was reversed. At that time, instead of France receiving an American-made ship, the young nation of the United States was glad to receive -- happy to receive a ship made in France by Frenchmen -- the Bon Homme Richard -- a ship made illustrious under the command of John Paul Jones, in the days of our Navy's infancy. And it is well to remember that that ship was named in honor of our Minister to France, Benjamin Franklin -- that wise old philosopher who was the father of close friendship between France and the United States.

This vessel, which today we are turning over to the people of France, will somewhere, sometime, engage the enemy. She is a part of the growing strength of the French Navy. She is a new class -- a destroyer escort -- speedy and dangerous. I want to tell you something else about her -- that there are more where she came from. Under our Lend-Lease agreement, she is not the only ship that you will receive from us -- we are building others for your sailors to man.

I hope that the Nazis and the Japs are listening to us today as this transfer is made (we make this transfer). For it will help them better to understand the spirit and determination which binds together all of the fighting fleets and armies of the United Nations on the road to ultimate victory.

Vice Admiral Fenard, you are the senior officer of the French Navy (here), and you are the chief of the French Naval Mission here. It has been your duty to work with us in outfitting your fleet. My years of friendship with officers of the French Navy make this a particularly memorable occasion to me, personally. To you, we turn over this ship -- the SENE GALAIS. We recall with pleasure that it was a French ship which fired the first salute ever rendered to the Stars and Stripes flying from a United States Man-of-War. We remember that salute today -- and symbolically we return it.

Good luck, SENE GALAIS -- and good hunting.

OFF THE RECORD

Advertising War Council Conference

March 8, 1944

At 4.30 p.m., e.w.t.

Executive Office of the President

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know how we are going to get two hundred people in here.

MR. EARLY: Move in closer, or we won't all be able to get in, I am afraid.

THE PRESIDENT: May need a little pressure on the rear -- I don't know. (laughter) We have enlarged this room once. I guess we'll have to do it again. (more laughter)

(after a pause) How are they behaving in the rear?

VOICE: Still coming.

MR. EARLY: Still coming, sir.

VOICE: No absentees at all, Steve. They are all here.

MR. SIMMONS: All in, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: I want to say "how do" to you, and tell you how glad I am that you are here. I wish I had been able to make these tours with you, I probably would have learned a great deal. I am rather envious for that reason. I also want to tell you how really appreciative I am of what you have done for the war in the past couple of years. It has been a tremendous help to us in all these war efforts that you, probably more than anybody else, have put across throughout the country. They will be coming along, probably for a



good long time to come -- more of them.

And we are counting on you for continued work with us in educating the country. It isn't propaganda and it isn't a drive, but it is part of our system of modern education, getting into all the communities, large -- large and small. A good many new ones that will come right along. They are not propaganda, or political in the larger sense.

I hesitate a little bit to ask you to help me on one thing. I think the country is -- one of the real dangers in the country, on the non-military side, is inflation. I am scared to death of inflation, quite frankly; and I don't think it is a party matter. There has been -- there have been quite a number of ads that have been carried in the past -- recent past about the dangers of inflation. And yet, as I see people that come in here from all over the country, the number of people that don't understand it yet! It is perfectly appalling. So the more education we give them the better it is.

I think probably everybody in this room is afraid of inflation, just as I am. You have seen it happen in other countries. We know the dangers that would occur if we went into an inflationary period. I still think we have got to do an awful lot of educating to prevent it from happening in some manner or form. It isn't just the same things that have happened to other countries that have got a debased currency, but it is what would happen -- what would happen to the investments of every man, woman and child in this country.

One thing that I don't dare say -- talk about out

loud is the effect it would have on Government bonds. A good many of us have bought Government bonds, and we want to get paid back in the same kind of dollars, so far as we can, that we put into those bonds. Of course, I can't talk about it in that way, because it might discourage the future sales of -- of Government bonds. So that kind of advertising and information -- education -- has got to be written by -- by experts like you people.

Things of that kind I don't think have anything to do with politics, one way or the other. And yet it's amazing the number of people who are playing up the inflationary program, who think of it very largely in terms of politics, one way or the other -- both parties.

I am just using that as an example of some of the -- some of the things we still have to do to keep the feet of the country on the ground. And there is always the tendency, in matters like that, for people to lift one foot up, a little like one of my farm-leader friends who admitted to one of the committees in Congress, when he was -- talked about the benefits of this, that and the other thing. And he was asked whether he was in favor of inflation.

"Oh -- Oh No. Oh my, No. Of course not."

Then he hesitated a minute, and said, "Just a little bit of inflation." (laughter)

Well, if you once start a little bit, as you all know, it is pretty hard to stop it. You want to keep the dam from breaking.

So I hope that you have had a good time, also a successful time, in hearing the -- some of the military and naval problems. I think things are going along fairly well. Of course, I am never satisfied. Probably it's a good attitude of mind to be in -- never to be satisfied.

You probably heard some of the senior officers that -- about the back of things, and some of the junior officers who have been out on the firing line, who are much more interesting than the senior officers. (laughter) Human interest stuff; and they are long on human interest -- rightly. And they are grand people.

Then, of course, we have to remember that they wouldn't have had their human interest if it hadn't been for the planning by the different staffs. And it is rather an interesting fact -- no reason you shouldn't know -- that on all this planning neither Churchill nor I have ever overruled the staffs. Lot of people think so. It isn't true. (laughter) We have gone along with the staffs remarkably well, if I do hand myself a bouquet. (more laughter) Then it so happens that the joint staffs and I over here have viewed this picture of the war all over the world in exactly the same way. We haven't had any basic disagreement, and even -- even haven't had any minor disagreements. We happen to have been thinking exactly along the same lines.

On international cooperation, we are now working really for -- not the first time, but since the last meeting in Teheran -- in really good cooperation with the Russians.

And I think with the Russians -- this, of course, is all off the record -- they are perfectly friendly, they aren't trying to gobble up all the rest of Europe or the world. They -- they didn't know us, that's -- that's the really fundamental difference. They are friendly people. They haven't got any crazy ideas of conquest, and so forth; and now that they have got to know us, they are much more willing to accept us. And we are working in with them on actual operations and plans much better than we did before, just because we didn't know each other.

So that was one of the great gains of -- of last fall in Teheran. Things of that kind take quite a while to work out with people who are five or six thousand miles away, who don't talk our language, English -- and we certainly don't know Russian. (laughter) And yet we are getting somewhere with them.

And all these fears that have been expressed by a lot of people here -- with some reason -- that the Russians are going to try to dominate Europe, I personally don't think there's anything in it. They have got a large enough "hunk of bread" right in Russia to keep them busy for a great many years to come without taking on any more -- any more headaches.

The military operations, therefore, are -- are in a good cooperative position. We have got a long, long road to go. Of course, the more you do to tell the people that "peace is just around the corner," the better it is, but we -- nobody agrees that peace is around the corner. It just



plain isn't. It's a long road, and a difficult road. We are going to have big losses. And I am personally confident of victory in the long run. But I am inclined to think that we ought to -- if we do any complaining at all -- be against the people who are, honorably and honestly, working in just the wrong direction, such as the group that wants to make peace now.

Well, just the example, I got a letter yesterday from a very prominent man who -- very -- he has been retired for some years -- very prominent in the motion picture industry -- a five-page letter, making a plea to me to appoint a "secretary of peace" and send him over to Germany, and see under what conditions -- it's a beautiful letter, and he meant it; it's an honest thing, from his heart -- to see if we couldn't work out some means with Germany of ending this terrible slaughter, and the busting up of civilization. Not a word about some of the things we are hoping to get, such as the end of German aggression, and a change in the philosophy of the German government. Oh No, not a word about that! But, appoint a peace secretary to go over there -- sort of a roving commission -- to bring peace to the world.

Now there are a lot -- lot of people in this country that are doing things of that kind honestly. I don't -- I don't believe in this "ulterior motive" stuff, but they just don't know. And therefore they require what I was talking about before, some education from you people.

So go ahead and give it to them, all you possibly

can.

We are going to win the war -- it is going to take a hell of a long time -- and we don't like to be interfered with in the winning of the war.

So on that note I am putting it up to you.

All right. It has been good to see you. I wish I had time to shake hands with you all, but I have to get -- Oh, I will probably work all afternoon and all evening.

VOICES: Thank you very much, Mr. President.

(applause for the President)

INFORMAL  
REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
WHILE HAVING LUNCH WITH A GROUP OF NAVAL AIR CADETS  
AT  
NAVAL AIR TRAINING CENTER, CORPUS CHRISTI, TEXAS,  
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1943

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THE PRESIDENT:

I am glad that all cadets of the naval training station are hearing what I have to say, because what I have to tell you concerns them, as well as those here in this mess hall.

I regard this as one of the great American historic meetings. I think you will remember this just as long as you live, for we have just received a President on American soil -- the President of our sister republic.

I want to tell you that yesterday was one of the high points of my life. We had a perfectly magnificent reception in Monterrey. And today we are especially very happy to greet the President of Mexico, because here among us are a large number of Mexican cadets, as well as many other cadets from sister American republics.

The President of Mexico would like very much -- when we go out of here -- to shake hands with his own cadets.

We feel -- I do -- that from the point of view of continental defense and unity of purpose, that the kind of mutual training we are doing with cadets from sister republics, both in the Army and the Navy, means a wide and long step forward in the relations of this hemisphere.

Let the good work go on!



Informal Remarks Of The President  
To The Marine Guard Detachment  
At Bernard Baruch's Plantation "Hobcaw Barony"  
May 6, 1944, at 7.35 p.m., e.w.t.

I just want to say a word of thanks to you all.

Thank you for having made it very safe and comfortable for us here for the past four weeks. I didn't know there were many of you here. Some of you kept out of sight very successfully. Around the house down there, I had absolute silence, no games or other things going on. You were apparently told to maintain absolute silence while on duty; and you did.

I do want to say one thing, a thing that perhaps you don't know. It's a dreadful thing to say in the presence of these high-ranking officers of the Army and the Navy. That is, the Marines are my very special outfit, and for a very good reason too.

In the last war, I was Assistant Secretary of the Navy. At that time, in the Navy Department, the Secretary of the Navy didn't have charge of the Marines. The Assistant Secretary did. And so, from 1913 to 1920 I was in complete control of the Marine Corps. The Corps grew in those days from the enormous size of about fifteen thousand, as I remember, to up to a hundred thousand.

And now look at it! I was very proud of them then. I am still proud of them. I am still proud that I had charge of the Marine Corps for eight years. I went abroad on a destroyer in 1918, and saw a good deal of the fine work the

Marines were doing in France. That gave me a very excellent reason to be proud of the Marines. I saw them on the whole length of our line in Northern France. I saw them at Chateau Thierry. I saw the Marines up on the Rhine. After the war, I went back again. And so, as you can well imagine, I know something about the Marines.

It is good to have seen you down here. I understand some of you have been overseas. It's a great experience any time you go overseas -- east or west. One thing we didn't have in France was ticks or chiggers. That is the only thing I have against South Carolina.

I wish I could have stayed longer. I hope everything goes all right from now on. Can't promise you when the war will end, but we all hope it will be soon.

Good luck to you all.

(reported by W. M. Rigdon, Lieut(jg) USN)

INFORMAL  
REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
WHILE HAVING LUNCH WITH A GROUP OF OFFICERS AND OFFICER CANDIDATES  
AT THE  
CAVALRY SCHOOL CLUB, FORT RILEY, KANSAS  
SUNDAY, APRIL 25, 1943  
(EASTER SUNDAY)

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THE PRESIDENT:

Gentlemen:

It seems to me that you have a very happy "home on the range" here.

I have been going to a good many camps in different parts of the country, and I think it might interest you if I were to tell you of my first impression. I went through the country and a great many camps last September -- a slightly different route from this one.

It seems to me that I see in you that intangible thing -- a very definite improvement -- in the past six or seven months, an improvement, I think, that I can see by looking at people -- better morale.

The Army has gone through its growing pains, and today the Army is a grownup unit.

You who are here will go into all kinds of service; and I hope you will get into the fight, because we have made a good beginning in many parts of the world. I have been to some of them, and I find that among the units that have gone out to the South Pacific and to North Africa, there is the same kind of development that is taking place here back home.

When I was in the other branch of the service, the Navy -- you know, I was in the Navy once -- we called it a "happy ship." A ship that is a happy ship is an efficient ship. Today the Army is a happy Army, therefore an efficient Army.

It has been a great privilege to have been here on Easter Sunday with all of you. I wish I could see each one of your Posts, because I learn something from each of the camps that I visit. So I will go away with that impression in general, and in particular about Fort Riley, one of the oldest military establishments in the United States. It goes back here to a long line of officers. Many of them you know about; many who have made good in the history of our country. I know that you are going to carry on that tradition.

I am glad to have been here. Good luck to you all.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

On The Fall Of Rome

June 5, 1944, 8.30 p.m., e.w.t.

Radio Broadcast

My friends:

Yesterday, on June fourth, 1944, Rome fell to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals is now in our hands. One up and two to go!

It is perhaps significant that the first of these capitals to fall should have the longest history of all of them. The story of Rome goes back to the time of the foundations of our civilization. We can still see there monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world. That, too, is significant, for the United Nations are determined that in the future no one city and no one race will be able to control the whole of the world.

In addition to the monuments of the older times, we also see in Rome the great symbol of Christianity, which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other churches in many places, but the churches and shrines of Rome are visible symbols of the faith and determination of the early saints and martyrs that Christianity should live and become universal. And tonight (now) it will be a source of deep satisfaction that the freedom of the Pope and the (of) Vatican City is assured by the armies of the United Nations.

It is also significant that Rome has been liberated by the armed forces of many nations. The American and British armies -- who bore the chief burdens of battle -- found at their sides our own North American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. The fighting New Zealanders from the far South Pacific, the courageous French and the French Moroccans, the South Africans, the Poles and the East Indians -- all of them fought with us on the bloody approaches to the city of Rome.

The Italians, too, forswearing a partnership in the Axis which they never desired, have sent their troops to join us in our battles against the German trespassers on their soil.

The prospect of the liberation of Rome meant enough to Hitler and his generals to induce them to fight desperately at great cost of men and materials and with great sacrifice to their crumbling Eastern line and to their Western front. No thanks are due to them if Rome was spared the devastation which the Germans wreaked on Naples and other Italian cities. The Allied Generals maneuvered so skillfully that the Nazis could only have stayed long enough to damage Rome at the risk of losing their armies.

But Rome is of course more than a military objective.

Ever since before the days of the Caesars, Rome has stood as a symbol of authority. Rome was the Republic. Rome was the Empire. Rome was and is in a sense the Catholic Church, and Rome was the capital of a United Italy. Later, unfortunately, a quarter of a century ago, Rome became the

seat of Fascism -- one of the three capitals of the Axis.

For this (a) quarter century the Italian people were enslaved. They were (and) degraded by the rule of Mussolini from Rome. They will mark its liberation with deep emotion. In the north of Italy, the people are still dominated and threatened by the Nazi overlords and their Fascist puppets. Somehow, in the back of my head, I still remember a name --  
Mussolini.

Our victory comes at an excellent time, while our Allied forces are poised for another strike at Western Europe -- and while the armies of other Nazi soldiers nervously await our assault. And in the meantime our gallant Russian Allies continue to make their power felt more and more.

From a strictly military standpoint, we had long ago accomplished certain of the main objectives of our Italian campaign -- the control of the islands -- the major islands -- the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean to shorten our combat and supply lines, and the capture of the airports, such as the great airports of Foggia, south of Rome, from which we have struck telling blows on the continent -- the whole of the continent all the way up to the Russian front.

It would be unwise to inflate in our own minds the military importance of the capture of Rome. We shall have to push through a long period of greater effort and fiercer fighting before we get into Germany itself. The Germans have retreated thousands of miles, all the way from the gates of Cairo, through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and Southern



Italy. They have suffered heavy losses, but not great enough yet to cause collapse.

Germany has not yet been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point where she will be unable to recommence world conquest a generation hence.

Therefore, the victory still lies some distance ahead. That distance will be covered in due time -- have no fear of that. But it will be tough and it will be costly, as I have told you many, many times.

In Italy the people had lived so long under the corrupt rule of Mussolini that, in spite of the tinsel at the top -- you have seen the pictures of him -- their economic condition had grown steadily worse. Our troops have found starvation, malnutrition, disease, a deteriorating education and lowered public health -- all by-products of the Fascist misrule.

The task of the Allies in occupation has been stupendous. We have had to start at the very bottom, assisting local governments to reform on democratic lines. We have had to give them bread to replace that which was stolen out of their mouths by the Germans. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to raise and use their own local crops. We have to help them cleanse their schools of Fascist trappings.

I think the American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, who are only now learning to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom.

Some of us may let our thoughts run to the financial



cost of it. Essentially it is what we can call a form of relief. And at the same time, we hope that this relief will be an investment for the future -- an investment that will pay dividends by eliminating Fascism, by (and) ending any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in the future. And that means that they are dividends which justify such an investment, because they are additional supports for world peace.

The Italian people are capable of self-government. We do not lose sight of their virtues as a peace-loving nation.

We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind.

We remember the great sons of the Italian people -- Galileo and Marconi, Michelangelo and Dante -- and incidentally that fearless discoverer who typifies the courage of Italy -- Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in stature by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overcrowded within their own territories, but they do not need to try to conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breath of life. Other peoples may not want to be conquered.

In the past, Italians have come by the millions into (to) the United States. They have been welcomed, they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community and governmental leaders. They are not Italian-Americans. They

are Americans -- Americans of Italian descent.

The Italians have gone in great numbers to the other Americas -- Brazil and the Argentine, for example -- hundreds and hundreds of thousands of them. They have gone (and) to many other nations in every continent of the world, giving of their industry and their talents, and achieving success and the comfort of good living, and good citizenship.

Italy should go on as a great mother nation, contributing to the culture and the progress and the goodwill of all mankind -- (and) developing her special talents in the arts and crafts and sciences, and preserving her historic and cultural heritage for the benefit of all peoples.

We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace. All the other nations opposed to Fascism and Nazism ought to (should) help to give Italy a chance.

The Germans, after years of domination in Rome, left the people in the Eternal City on the verge of starvation. We and the British will do and are doing everything we can to bring them relief. Anticipating the fall of Rome, we made preparations to ship food supplies to the city, but, of course, it should be borne in mind that the needs are so great, (and) the transportation requirements of our armies so heavy that improvement must be gradual. But we have already begun to save the lives of the men, women and children of Rome.

This, I think, is an example of the efficiency of your machinery of war. The magnificent ability and energy of the American people in growing the crops, building the

merchant ships, in making and collecting the cargoes, in getting the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and thinking ahead to meet emergencies -- all this spells, I think, an amazing efficiency on the part of our armed forces, all the various agencies working with them, and American industry and labor as a whole.

No great effort like this can be a hundred percent perfect, but the batting average is very, very high.

And so I extend the congratulations and thanks tonight of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to our General Clark and General Leese of the Fifth and the Eighth Armies; to General Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theater, to (and) General Devers his American Deputy; to (Lieutenant) General Eaker; to Admirals Cunningham and Hewitt; and to all their brave officers and men.

May God bless them and watch over them and over all of our gallant, fighting men.

TOAST OF THE PRESIDENT

At The State Dinner For The

Prime Minister of Poland, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk

At The White House, June 7, 1944

(And The Latter's Reply)

I want to say how happy all of us are to welcome again to Washington the Prime Minister of Poland. I think he has arrived here at a very good time, because we have been able to have, even in the one hour this morning, a very frank talk about the future of Poland. Within his lifetime and mine we have seen the rebirth. In my boyhood and his, there was no independent Poland.

After he left me this morning, I had brought to me a series of sixteen maps, showing the map of Poland beginning in 1653. And it is rather an amazing fact that during these intervening years those sixteen maps show, first and last, that practically all of Central Europe was a part of Poland -- first and last.

Therefore, it is rather difficult to untangle the map of the Poland which very soon we hope is going to have its own government back. We hope the events of the past few days will result in the liberation of an independent Poland, with its own government and its own democracy.

And yet we can't go by history, because if we were to take one nation that I have in mind, Poland would include most of Russia, and a good part of Germany, and Czechoslovakia. We are not up to that time yet. We can't talk about it even.



We have got to do the practical thing. And that is what the Prime Minister and I have been talking about: the practical restoration of Poland as a country which will be not merely self-governing but self-maintaining, not merely with its own democracy, but also the wherewithal to make both ends meet in food and the cost of living. I think we are as one on it. I think we have a meeting of the minds as to the principles and the desires of the future for the people of Poland.

And I hope some time very soon that steps will be taken, by which the people of Poland and the very large nation that lies to the east will become not merely good neighbors -- that is an essential -- but also two nations, one very, very large and the other a good deal smaller, that will be able to work out a mutual economic system by which there will be complete independence on the part of Poland.

At Teheran, I was very glad to have Marshal Stalin say, not once but several times, that he did not desire Poland to be an appendage of the Russian Soviet Republics but should, on the other hand, be a completely self-governing, large and completely independent nation.

Therefore, with that thought on the part of Marshal Stalin, I formed the conviction that sitting around the table and talking it over would do nobody any harm, that there can be a meeting of the minds, leaving out the smaller details, such as certain portions of what we call boundaries -- deferring them until a somewhat later time, when this new disease in Europe will be eradicated by the march of time.

I think of shell-shock. Three thousand miles away a good many people in the United States have got shell-shock at the present time. If we were close to the actual fighting, or if there were German troops in our midst, I am inclined to think that our shell-shock would be a great deal worse. And so some things must await the return of a word, which I never liked and which a former President used: normalcy, when we can think rather more quietly, and think in the longer terms of what is going to happen, not next year or the year after, or even ten years hence, but fifty years and a hundred years hence.

We go back in our relations with Poland to well over 150 years in our struggle for independence. We were very greatly helped by leading Poles -- who came over to help us from a sense of justice, from a sense of trying to help people who were trying to get self-expression -- the great Polish heroes who helped us in our first revolution. Through all the years we have watched a changing history, changing boundaries, changing designs.

I was saying to the Prime Minister that I go back to the last century, when I traveled over a large part of Europe on a bicycle, without a passport. I never carried a passport.

And I came to a barrier across the road, and a man came out, yawning, and wanted to know where I came from and where I was going.

I told him I was an American; and he said, after a few minutes of a few, very simple questions, "Have you got enough money to live on?"